

new ambassador, 55, spent years of World War II in the States, where his father was national Communist functionary. He joined the Communist Party after his father's arrest.

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New Twist in Game of Nations

U.S. Finds Cold War Was Not Just 'We Win, You Lose'

By Thomas L. Friedman
New York Times Service

OTTAWA — Just at the moment in history when the United States would like to cash in on its victory in the Cold War, U.S. officials are discovering that the game

NEWS ANALYSIS

of nations is changing and that they may not be able to walk away from the table with all the profits they expected.

That certainly seems to be the message underlying the debate under way here between NATO and Warsaw Pact foreign ministers over the fate of the Germans and the future of Soviet and U.S. troops in Europe.

How so? For the past two years the United States and the Soviet Union have engaged in a process that might best be described as radical détente.

In this process the East-West Cold War still defined the game of nations in Europe, but both Moscow and Washington began accepting unprejudiced terms, control arrangements that promised to reduce their forces in Europe to much lower, but equal, levels.

Soviet and U.S. officials continued to treat one another in these negotiations as though they were equals, and the only real principals. But since the opening of the Berlin Wall in November, and the toppling of many Communist governments in Eastern Europe, the game there has begun to shift radically.

It is less and less about how to

manage the U.S.-Soviet relationship stably, and increasingly about how to manage stably the most explosive feud on the continent for the past 100 years: the one between Germany and the Soviet Union.

"What happened in the last year," said Michael Mandelbaum, an expert on European affairs at the Council of Foreign Relations, "was that the evolution of United States-Soviet relations within the 40-year-old Cold War structure turned into a revolution that has begun to redefine the very nature of politics in Europe. It is nothing less than a Copernican revolution."

"We devoted all of our efforts to winning the Cold War," Mr. Mandelbaum said. "But now that it is over, and we have won, we can't just pick up our chips."

"We have to stay at the table and get involved in a new game, a game in which reducing tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union is receding in importance."

"Now the issue is increasingly: How do we reassure Germany and the Soviet Union about each other, and how do we reassure the countries between them about them both?"

It is for this reason that President George Bush's recent proposal for troop reductions and statements on German reunification may require a second look.

In his State of the Union message, the president intentionally offered the Soviet Union an unequal, asymmetrical deal on troop cuts, in which Moscow would reduce its

troops in Europe to 195,000, but the United States would be able to maintain 225,000.

The spirit behind this proposal was derived from the Cold War. The logic, U.S. officials made clear, went like this:

"We won the Cold War. You lost."

"We are no longer going to maintain the charade that our positions are equal. They are not. We are here by invitation. You are here by occupation. Our allies want us to stay. Yours want you to leave. The moment of truth has arrived."

The same spirit inhabits the Bush administration's position on German reunification. Washington supports unification of East and West Germany, but it has to be on U.S., not Soviet terms.

As the president reaffirmed on Monday, those terms are that a reunified Germany must continue to be a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization rather than becoming neutral.

The question before the Bush administration is: Can it, or does it even want to, reap these victories of the Cold War just at the moment when the game of nations in Europe is shifting?

A State Department expert on European affairs said, "Just when we are about to win the game, we can't afford to take the whole pot home if it is going to drive the Soviets to turn over the table."

As for whether the United States can sustain its positions on German unity and troop cuts, the answer is unclear. The West German government insists that a unified Germany will remain in NATO, but that, to reassure the Soviet Union, NATO troops will be stationed in the Eastern sector.

As President Bush indicated, many U.S. officials are convinced that Mikhail S. Gorbachev and his former East European allies would much prefer to see a unified Germany tied into, and therefore controlled by, NATO rather than by a neutral Germany in the middle of Europe, probably sooner or later rearming itself to its full potential.

If that proves to be the case, the administration's position will hold. But Moscow's line on the German question remains unclear.

Soviet officials have told the West Germans that they will not stand in the way of peaceful reunification but have added that Soviet security interests must be protected.

At a news conference in Ottawa on Monday, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Vitali Churkin, elaborated on that by saying that the proposal that Germany be unified, but remain in NATO without any NATO troops moving East, "is not something we find appealing."

"It is not something we accept," he added. He said a unified Germany must be neutral.

Even if the Soviet Union eventually abandons its public insistence on German neutrality, it will not necessarily mean that it has given in to Washington.

Moscow may instead be counting on the prospect that in German national elections in December, the combined Social Democratic parties of East and West Germany will triumph and put into effect their European agenda, which has always tended toward demilitarization and neutrality.

It is equally possible, however, that the Soviet Union will adhere to its demand for a neutral Germany or for an arrangement that allows Moscow to maintain a certain minimum of troops and that it will refuse to withdraw its forces otherwise.

That is why the question of troop levels is tricky. Mr. Gorbachev rejected Mr. Bush's asymmetrical approach and said he was prepared to reduce troops to either 195,000 or 225,000, but that the level must be equal for both sides. The president said he stood by his original offer.

She rejected the contention of the Labor Party leader, Neil Kinnock, and other critics that she had isolated Britain from the rest of the world by unilaterally relaxing economic sanctions at a time when President George Bush and other world leaders are urging caution.

Mrs. Thatcher reacted over the weekend to Pretoria's release of Mr. Mandela by lifting the British ban on new investment and ending official discouragement of tourism.

■ **Thousands Cheer Mandela**
Mr. Mandela received a tumultuous welcome Tuesday from more than 120,000 supporters and appealed for discipline in the fight against "the dark hell of apartheid," United Press International reported from Soweto.

He also called for a continuation of the armed struggle against the white minority government as long as "the violence of apartheid continues. We are going forward. The march towards freedom and justice is irreversible."

■ **Nepal Arrests 2 Leftist Leaders**
KATMANDU, Nepal — Police have arrested two leaders of a leftist front five days before the planned start of a movement to demand restoration of a national multiparty system, front sources said Tuesday.

They said that Sahana Pradhan, chairwoman of the United Left Front, was arrested early Tuesday, hours after the arrest of Bishnu Bahadur Manandhar, another front leader. The front groups the seven factions of Nepal's splintered Communist Party.

The front had recently endorsed a plan by the banned Nepali Congress Party to launch a mass movement Sunday to demand an end to the system under which the Himalayan monarchy banned formal political opposition 29 years ago.

■ **All 347 Safe as Ilushin Crash-Lands in Moscow**
MOSCOW — An Ilushin-86 Airbus on an internal flight from the Armenian capital Yerevan crashed on landing at Moscow's Vnukovo airport after the undercarriage collapsed, Trud newspaper reported Tuesday. None of the 347 passengers or crew was hurt. The paper did not say when the crash happened.

■ **Tass Reported on Tuesday** that two people were killed by a fire aboard a Soviet trawler in the Far East port of Vladivostok. The agency did not say when this happened.



Romanian railway workers buying Polish cigarettes from passengers on a train from Warsaw that stopped just outside Bucharest.

Romanian Officers Ask 2 Ministers to Resign

The Associated Press

BUCHAREST — Nearly 300 Romanian military officers demanded the resignations of the ministers of defense and interior Tuesday in a silent protest outside government headquarters on Victory Square.

The uniformed officers from the army, navy and air force, demonstrating in pouring rain, said they wanted ministers untainted by events during the December revolution or by long association with Nicolae Ceausescu, who was executed on Dec. 25.

A group of 49 officers presented government officials with 13 demands, including the removal of all Defense Ministry military staff who followed Mr. Ceausescu's orders at the start of the revolution.

The officers also demanded what they called the truth about the army's role in the revolution, especially in the western city of Timisoara where the uprising began. Soldiers there were said to have fired on demonstrators before the army started backing the revolutionaries.

The officers demanded that a civilian replace the defense minister, General Nicolae Militaru, who held a series of high army posts before being demoted and pensioned off by Mr. Ceausescu.

General Militaru came out of retirement and was named defense minister by the interim president, Ion Iliescu, shortly after the revolution.

The officers accused the interior minister, General Mihai Chitac, a former commander of chemical warfare troops, of being a "direct participant in the repressive actions in Timisoara."

They cited unconfirmed rumors that a video existed showing General Chitac shooting demonstrators in Timisoara, which experienced the bloodiest fighting in the revolution.

In their appeal to Mr. Iliescu, the officers said they wanted "to prevent the destabilization of the army in case the principles of the country's democratization in the military field as well as are not preserved."

■ **Opposition Urged to Unite**
Romania's former interim vice president, Dumitru Mazilu, urged all opposition parties Tuesday to unite against the governing National Salvation Front in general elections due in May, Reuters reported from Geneva.

Mr. Mazilu, who resigned the vice presidency last month complaining that the front was using Stalinist methods, said a united opposition was "the best way of promoting democracy."

■ **CZECH: A Symbolic Ambassador**
(Continued from page 1)

for Moscow some time before Mr. Havel pays his first visit there at the end of this month.

Interviewed at the Foreign Ministry, Mr. Slansky acknowledged "mixed feelings" about what lies ahead. But he emphasized that despite the personal and political harm he suffered under earlier Soviet leaders, he bore no resentment to the country and its current head.

"I have of course a personal attitude toward the Soviet Union," he said, "but I never linked what Soviet leaders do or what happened to my family to the Soviet people. I always made that difference."

Whatever his sentiments toward those who decided on the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, he said, "I didn't hate the soldiers on the tanks."

Mr. Slansky said that above all the Soviet Union must be seen as a superpower on the border.

Mr. Slansky said his reflections after the invasion led him to speak for pragmatism instead of political dogma.

The lesson that I learned was that democracy is completely incompatible with rule by one totalitarian party, even if people in it have good intentions," he said. "A pluralistic political system is the only way."

■ **RIOTS: Tadjik Violence Spreads**
(Continued from page 1)

because of ecological dangers, transfer to the people all profits from cotton grown in the republic and release of 25 persons arrested during the melee on Monday.

Inside the headquarters, local Communist leaders were holding an emergency session to deal with the growing crisis.

For the third day in a row, the Tadjikistan Communist Party leader, Kakhar M. Makhkamov, spoke before the crowds, but was unsuccessful in his attempts to persuade them to disperse.

Zainidin Nasredinov, director of the official Tadjik news agency, said in a telephone interview that the demonstrators had formed a National Committee to negotiate with local officials.

Under the committee's supervision, he said, houses were being searched for arms, although the government newspaper, Izvestia, reported Tuesday that all the refugees, and many longtime Armenian residents of Tadjikistan, had been evacuated by plane to the Armenian capital, Yerevan.

Soviet television showed the first film Tuesday of the disturbances in Dushanbe, a largely Muslim city of about 600,000.

Thousands of people crammed the central square chanting "Down With Armenians." Helmeted, armed troops bearing shields stood nearby. At one point, tear gas wafted through the crowds, and stones, bricks and glass bottles were scattered at soldiers' feet.

The footage, from Monday, showed injured policemen and demonstrators, and two bodies lying motionless on a street.

Likud Clash With Sharon Appears to Help Shamir

By Jackson Diehl
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir appeared to be positioned Tuesday to strengthen his authority within the fractious Likud party following a confrontation with Ariel Sharon, but officials suggested that there would be no immediate dividend for the Middle East peace process.

Mr. Shamir and Mr. Sharon engaged in a shouting match in front of the 3,000 members of Likud's central committee Monday night after Mr. Sharon announced his resignation from his ministerial post because of opposition to the government's plan for negotiations with Palestinians in the occupied areas.

Although the meeting broke up in disorder, Mr. Shamir quickly took advantage of Mr. Sharon's unexpected move, announcing that he accepted the resignation and opening negotiations with Mr. Sharon's major backer in the party, Housing Minister David Levy.

Mr. Levy, who commands a substantial personal following, was reportedly angered by Mr. Sharon's sudden move and willing to consider a rapprochement with Mr. Shamir that would isolate Mr. Sharon.

Regardless of Mr. Levy's moves, Mr. Shamir's sides and other Likud activists said the prime minister had a chance to improve his standing in both the party and the public in the coming weeks.

"Shamir is in a very strong position," a top aide to the prime minister argued. "If Sharon really leaves—which is not sure—Shamir will hold most of the cards. And it will be a major contribution to the peace process."

Mr. Sharon, the architect of Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, has spearheaded resistance within the government's 12-member inner cabinet to Mr. Shamir's peace initiative, which calls for the election of Palestinian representatives in the territories and the negotiation of self-rule.

Mr. Sharon said Tuesday he did not plan to withdraw his resignation, but he added in an interview with Israel Radio that he "would certainly prefer to stay in the government."

The former defense minister's principal supporters were meeting with him to persuade him to cancel his resignation, and Mr. Shamir's allies said they thought the prime minister would have to work hard in the coming week to force Mr. Sharon out of his present post as minister of trade and industry.

"Sharon gambled and lost," said an aide, pointing to Mr. Sharon's dramatic effort to seize control of the Likud party meeting with his resignation speech. "Now he may want to take back his bet."

With the political maneuvering continuing, officials said that Mr. Shamir was not yet prepared to accept the latest formula for setting up Israeli-Palestinian talks, which has been circulated in the past several weeks in contacts among the United States, Egypt, the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel's Labor Party, Likud's partner in the coalition.

The prospective dialogue is intended as a preliminary forum for Israel and the Palestinians to agree on the format for the elections that Mr. Shamir proposes.

The formula, which officials said has been tentatively accepted by all the parties except Mr. Shamir and the Likud, calls for Israel to negotiate in Cairo with a Palestinian delegation made up of representatives from the occupied territories as well as one or two Palestinian activists previously deported by Israel.

Officials said that Mr. Shamir did not intend to prepare a direct answer to the formula, as requested by the U.S. secretary of state, James A. Baker 3d, but instead would continue private bargaining with Washington over its terms.

■ **Heavy Fighting Is Reported in Eastern Ethiopia**
Agence France-Presse

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia — Pitted battles raged throughout eastern Ethiopia between rebels and the Ethiopian Army, Radio Ethiopia reported Tuesday, apparently rejecting rebel claims to have taken the Red Sea port of Massawa.

The radio, repeating bulletins carried by the Ethiopian News Agency, said fighting was intense in Massawa itself and on the highway to the provincial capital, Asmara, 70 kilometers (45 miles) inland.

The Eritrean People's Liberation Front said that its guerrillas had captured Massawa in a surprise attack and inflicted "heavy losses" on its defenders.

The Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea radio, monitored in Nairobi, said the Front had sunk nine ships of the Ethiopian Navy and seized or destroyed at least 70 tanks on the Asmara-Massawa highway.

Unofficial sources said, however, that the government forces still had "the upper hand," at least in Massawa itself, and that units there were mounting strong resistance. Independent confirmation of the reports was impossible.

WORLD BRIEFS

Aoun Demands Surrender by Rival

BEIRUT (Combined dispatches) — Major General Michel Aoun vowed Tuesday to crush the Lebanese Forces militia unless it surrendered in the inter-Christian war, which has already killed more than 500 people in two weeks.

"The army has suffered losses but will continue the surgical operation to reach the ideal state, where the illegal rifle does not dominate," General Aoun said at his presidential palace in a Christian suburb of Beirut.

In Paris, the Foreign Ministry denied reports Tuesday that France had offered to send troops to Lebanon in the hope of averting Syrian intervention in the conflict between warring Christian factions. The ministry was responding to reports quoting Arab diplomats in Beirut as saying the French government had made the troop offer. (Reuters, NYT)

U.S. Completes Panama Withdrawal

WASHINGTON (AP) — The United States has completed its withdrawal of the military force that invaded Panama on Dec. 20, the White House said Tuesday.

U.S. troop strength in Panama now stands at 13,504, below the 15,000 personnel stationed in Panama before the invasion, the White House press secretary, Martin Fitzwater, said. More than 14,000 troops were pulled from bases in the United States for the invasion. While troop levels have fluctuated by a few thousand in recent years, the 2,000 extra personnel that President George Bush sent to Panama following his May 7 election.

The Panama invasion resulted in the combat deaths of 23 U.S. soldiers and 324 wounded, and 314 Panamanian soldiers killed and 124 wounded, according to the Pentagon. In addition, 202 Panamanian civilians were killed in the fighting, the Pentagon said.

'Boat People' Riot in Hong Kong

HONG KONG (Reuters) — Police using tear gas broke up a three-hour riot between Vietnamese "boat people" in Hong Kong's Whitehead detention center on Tuesday. Seven people were injured.

The trouble started after a group from northern Quang Ninh Province tore down fences and clashed with a group from neighboring Haiphong, the police said. Camp workers recall a history of antagonism between people from the two regions.

More than 20,000 of the 56,000 Vietnamese who arrived as refugees are at Whitehead, a camp near the town of Sham in Hong Kong's New Territories. Estimates of the number involved in the rioting vary; a radio reporter said 300, and a government spokesman said 3,000.

Frankfurt Security Better, Panel Says

FRANKFURT (AP) — A U.S. presidential panel reiterated suspicion Tuesday that the bomb that blew up Pan Am Flight 103 originated in West Germany, but said security had improved at Frankfurt Airport since the attack.

The Commission on Aviation, Security and Terrorism was created by President George Bush in August as a direct result of the Dec. 21, 1988, bombing of the Pan Am Boeing 747 over Lockerbie, Scotland.

The seven-member panel is examining options for improving airport security to prevent a similar attack. The bombing killed all 259 people on board and 11 on the ground.

Maxwell Buys Into Hungarian Daily

BUDAPEST (Reuters) — The British media magnate Robert Maxwell bought a stake in Hungary's former government newspaper Tuesday and said he would turn it into a money-maker by cutting jobs and bolstering advertising.

Mr. Maxwell said that he would not interfere editorially in Magyar Hirlap, but that the newspaper's broad line would be to sustain any democratically elected government. He said his Maxwell Communication Corp. paid between £1 million and £2 million (\$1.7 million to \$3.4 million) for a 40 percent stake in the daily, which has a circulation of around 100,000.

Mr. Maxwell, who was born in Czechoslovakia, said his acquisition in Hungary would be followed by "quite a few others" in Central Europe. He travels to Moscow on Wednesday to discuss a possible joint venture involving the weekly Moscow News.

Poindexter Trial Delayed by 2 Weeks

WASHINGTON (NYT) — A U.S. district judge has postponed by two weeks the trial of Rear Admiral John M. Poindexter to provide more time to resolve a number of issues, including a potentially serious snag over 150 secret executive branch papers proposed for use as evidence.

The delay to March 5 ordered by Judge Harold H. Greene follows an earlier delay over whether former President Ronald Reagan should be subpoenaed and compelled to turn over excerpts of his private diaries. Judge Greene said he would take Mr. Reagan's videotaped testimony at the Los Angeles Federal Courthouse on Friday.

Admiral Poindexter, who is now retired, served as Mr. Reagan's national security adviser from December 1985 to November 1986. He faces five charges, including accusations that he made false statements about the sales of arms to Iran and diversion of proceeds to the Nicaraguan rebels at a time when Congress had banned such assistance.

TRAVEL UPDATE

Portugal Bars Air Controller Strike

LISBON (AP) — The government moved Tuesday to force air traffic controllers to abandon a five-day strike due to start Wednesday. A cabinet spokesman said that an extraordinary ministerial meeting adopted a "civil requisition" decree, whose effect would be that the 330 controllers could face disciplinary action or layoffs if they don't turn up for work.

Such a decree can be adopted only by the Council of Ministers in situations deemed to affect the national interest.

Controllers agreed Feb. 6 to a three strike in three months after the federal airport management authority rejected their demands for a 224 percent pay raise and for the creation of new openings. The authority has offered a 14 percent raise but stands firm on staffing.

The U.S. State Department has advised American citizens to postpone nonessential travel to Western Samoa because of a cyclone that caused "extensive and serious damage" to housing, food crops, roads, communications and transportation facilities.

Singapore is to spend 1.6 billion Singapore dollars (\$865 million) to improve and upgrade its airport, the communications and information minister, Yeo Ning Hong, said Tuesday. New facilities will include a third passenger terminal, an extended second runway, a refurbished first terminal and a new cargo building.

Uganda's troubled state airline has suspended all scheduled flights except its weekly service to London for two or three months while it restructures its business. The closure follows a one-week strike by flight crews to demand 10-14 raises and better working conditions. (Reuters)

WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW	WIND		HIGH	LOW	WIND
Amsterdam	5	4	C	Bangkok	28	25	SE
Antwerp	5	4	C	Beijing	28	25	SE
Barcelona	23	20	SE	Calcutta	28	25	SE
Berlin	22	20	SE	Hong Kong	28	25	SE
Birmingham	22	20	SE	Kobe	28	25	SE
Bombay	28	25	SE	London	28	25	SE
Buenos Aires	28	25	SE	Manila	28	25	SE
Cardiff	22	20	SE	New Delhi	28	25	SE
Copenhagen	22	20	SE	Shanghai	28	25	SE
Dublin	22	20	SE	Singapore	28	25	SE
Edinburgh	22	20	SE	Tokyo	28	25	SE
Geneva	22	20	SE				
Hamburg	22	20	SE	AFRICA			
Heidelberg	22	20	SE				
London	22	20	SE	Accra	28	25	SE
Madrid	22	20	SE	Algiers	28	25	SE
Munich	22	20	SE	Cairo	28	25	SE
Nairobi	28	25	SE	Conakry	28	25	SE
Paris	22	20	SE	Harare	28	25	SE
Prague	22	20	SE	Lagos	28	25	SE
Rome	22	20	SE	Maputo	28	25	SE
Stockholm	22	20	SE	Nairobi	28	25	SE
Warsaw	22	20	SE				
Winnipeg	22	20	SE	LATIN AMERICA			
MIDDLE EAST				NORTH AMERICA			
Amman	28	25	SE	Albuquerque	28	25	SE
Baghdad	28	25	SE	Anchorage	28	25	SE
Bahia	28	25	SE	Atlanta	28	25	SE
Bombay	28	25	SE	Boston	28	25	SE
Buenos Aires	28	25	SE	Chicago	28	25	SE
Calcutta	28	25	SE	Dallas	28	25	SE
Cairo	28	25	SE	Denver	28	25	SE
Cardiff	22	20	SE	Detroit	28	25	SE
Copenhagen	22	20	SE	Houston	28	25	SE
Cebu	28	25	SE	Los Angeles	28	25	SE
Dublin	22	20	SE	Manila	28	25	SE
Edinburgh	22	20	SE	Memphis	28	25	SE
Geneva	22	20	SE	Minneapolis	28	25	SE
Hamburg	22	20	SE	New York	28	25	SE
Heidelberg	22	20	SE	Philadelphia	28	25	SE
London	22	20	SE	Pittsburgh	28	25	SE
Madrid	22	20	SE	Rio de Janeiro	28	25	SE
Munich	22	20	SE	Sao Francisco	28	25	SE
Nairobi	28	25	SE	Santiago	28	25	SE
Paris	22	20	SE	Toronto	28	25	SE
Prague	22	20	SE	Washington	28	25	SE
Rome	22	20	SE				
Stockholm	22	20	SE				
Warsaw	22	20	SE				
Winnipeg	22	20	SE				

cloudy; + foggy; + rain; + hail; + overcast; + partly cloudy; + rain; + drizzle

WEDNESDAY FORECAST				CHANNEL				Rough Forecast			
	HIGH	LOW	WIND		HIGH	LOW	WIND		HIGH	LOW	WIND
(L) - (L) LONDON	28	25	SE	(L) - (L) LONDON	28	25	SE	(L) - (L) LONDON	28	25	SE
(L) - (L) LONDON	28	25	SE	(L) - (L) LONDON	28	25	SE	(L) - (L) LONDON	28	25	SE
(L) - (L) LONDON	28	25	SE	(L) - (L) LONDON	28	25	SE	(L) - (L) LONDON	28	25	SE
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Herald Tribune

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Rushdie, One Year Later

When Salman Rushdie was forced into hiding by the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's death threat, the international outcry was prompt and loud. But that was a year ago — on Wednesday it will be a year exactly — and Mr. Rushdie, like other hostages, has had to fight the tendency of the public to move on to other things. Awareness of his situation has been especially hard to maintain against the backdrop of 1989's "year of revolutions," when freedom of expression made such extraordinary advances in other countries. Amid these joyous upheavals, Mr. Rushdie continues to live in hiding under British police protection, and the Iranian regime that condemned him remains obdurate. Last week, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the Khomeini successor, reiterated the death sentence in the strongest terms — apparently in response to a long essay and several interviews in which Mr. Rushdie, for the first time, attempted to respond publicly and at length to his critics and to plead for rapprochement and mutual understanding.

Along with Mr. Rushdie's appeals, which appeared in the magazine *Newsweek* and in the London newspaper *The Independent* on Sunday (LHT, Feb. 5), the

London-based International Committee for the Defense of Salman Rushdie and His Publishers has published a statement signed by some 100 writers and human rights campaigners, including some of the most notable heroes of the struggle in Eastern Europe. The statement repeats principles that remain obvious but need to be heard and re-heard in this sorry affair: that Mr. Rushdie has committed no crime, that "it is the right of all people to express their ideas and beliefs" and that the death threat is a clear and blatant violation of international law. The statement calls on "world leaders and all those in positions of influence to renew their efforts to end the persecution of Salman Rushdie and his publishers."

Western analysts still assume that the regime's reasons for whipping up hysteria against Mr. Rushdie are at least partially political. But such transience is yet more reason for the rest of the world to remember Mr. Rushdie, for governments to press for his release and not subside to business as usual, and for those applauding freedom elsewhere to find ways to continue to express their revulsion at this act of terrorism.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Sunrise in South Africa

The jail that opened Sunday for Nelson Mandela began to free a nation even as it freed a man. After 27 years, and with the whole world watching, South Africa saw a half-mythical prisoner recalled to political life. Mr. Mandela rose impressively to a remarkable occasion. Calmly and without bitterness, he displayed the measured dignity the old Romans described as *gravitas*.

Mr. Mandela praised his radical followers for their steadfastness, but reminded them that democratic principles had to be respected. He excoriated the hateful system of apartheid, but praised President F.W. de Klerk as a man of integrity. He defended the "armed struggle" but hoped that a new climate would soon end the need for a "defensive" response to racial repression.

And while urging the West not to lift economic sanctions until apartheid is buried, he called for open negotiations to shape a new South Africa rooted in universal suffrage. That won't happen quickly, or easily. But a corner was turned when South African television dared show the outlawed flag of the African National Congress as Mr. Mandela walked free through the vineyards of Cape Town. "The sun is not just for the growing of grapes," a commentator said. "The sun is shining on South Africa."

By heading those too long denied a place in the sun, the rest of the world can help speed the transition. Global sanctions have plainly helped pry open prison doors, hasten the legalization of the African National Congress and other proscribed groups and bring about a partial end to the emergency. These steps are a vindication of sanctions, not an argument for repealing them.

President Bush has taken the right first step by inviting both Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela to Washington. For the moment, as Mr. Bush suggested, that seems ample reward for Mr. de Klerk's courage. Meantime,

however, Congress needs soon to review its conditions for ending sanctions against South Africa. It may make sense to ease some penalties as Pretoria moves forward, thereby providing incentives for further change while keeping the legislation in force.

Under the 1986 sanctions law, the president can waive or modify sanctions if Pretoria frees all political prisoners and meets three of four remaining conditions. Mr. Mandela has been freed, but other political prisoners languish in jail. And only one of the other four stipulations — legalizing opposition political groups — has been met. The other three require Pretoria to end emergency rule, to repeal the laws imposing racial segregation and to begin good-faith negotiations between dominant whites and the huge black majority.

What those talks can achieve is far from clear. President de Klerk has repeatedly declared that any new constitution must provide guarantees against the domination of any group by another. For his part, Mr. Mandela offers this definition of his goals: "Universal suffrage on a common voters roll in a united democratic and non-racial South Africa." Finding ways to mesh these principles, possibly in a federal system incorporating a bill of rights, won't be easy. But it's not impossible.

In any case, the first perilous steps have been taken on freedom's road. Enlightened South Africans are at last talking rather than shouting across racial barricades. Leaders are breaking the chains of dogma. In Cape Town as elsewhere in these amazing times, the unthinkable has become imaginable, and a struggle for human rights begun by nameless ordinary people has found champions in leaders like Mikhail Gorbachev, Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel, F.W. de Klerk and, now, Nelson Mandela.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Hailing the Communists

We think we were not the only listeners who found it passing uncomfortable to hear Nelson Mandela, in his first public words after release from prison, salute the South African Communist Party "for its sterling contribution to the struggle for democracy," and go on to hail some of the party faithful by name, including the current general secretary, Joe Slovo, and suggest that the ANC and the Communist Party of South Africa continued to have a strong working bond. No one wishes to be or even to appear anything less than fully committed to black aspirations at this sunny mo-

ment. But how can a party that now stands revealed almost everywhere else in the world as repressive, corrupt and bankrupt win top billing at one of the century's great celebrations of freedom?

The short answer is that Nelson Mandela is caught in something of a time warp on this. At the time he was imprisoned 27 years ago, the help of South African Communists, the concept of revolution and the fact of Soviet military aid and encouragement to guerrilla action had won the party a following in the anti-apartheid movement. It could claim to be indigenous, not created and imposed by Moscow, and not much other support was coming from Western sources or other political entities in South Africa. Mr. Mandela could be understood on Sunday as paying old debts.

But of course that does not entirely explain why Communist Party members still dominate the executive council of the until now externally based African National Congress and why they evidently also have a strong position in the ANC-oriented internal Mass Democratic Movement. Nor does it explain why the ANC's lumpy Marxist formulation of 1955, known as the Freedom Charter, remains the organization's ideological beacon.

Whoever now is confirmed as the helm of the ANC faces a formidable task in reconciling the broad range of black viewpoints in South Africa and opening a negotiation with the white government to build a common democratic future. Their threshold effort must necessarily be to ensure that the black leadership is not captured or influenced by a party that is a relic of a conspiratorial past. Mr. Mandela and his colleagues are entitled to a decent interval to get their thoughts and plans in order. Their people and their friends elsewhere will want to know that the destiny of the South African freedom movement, an inspiration to people all over the world, is not to create another of the cruel, undemocratic and inefficient state-centered regimes that are collapsing in other parts of the world.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

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South Africa's de Klerk: One Leader Who Has Led

By Jim Hoagland

PARIS — Repenting is hardly worth the effort if no one else notices, as any erstwhile sinner knows. That is why President Bush's White House invitation to F.W. de Klerk makes sense. The South African president has waded far out into a swiftly flowing Rubicon of change. A well-timed chorus of hosannas in the Oval Office may help guide him to the distant shore.

Mr. de Klerk's decision to liberate Nelson Mandela and legalize the African National Congress is an act of repentance, political calculation and personal courage all at the same time. It neither can nor is intended to atone for wrong already done. But it does establish a new moral basis for South Africa's political future and implicitly condemns the blindness of the past.

In that sense, the unconditional freeing of Mr. Mandela resembles Mikhail Gorbachev's decision three years ago to liberate Andrei Sakharov from internal exile and KGB suzerainty. Mr. de Klerk, like Mr.

Gorbachev before him, acknowledges the dead-end nature of the politics of repression and brute force by ordering the release of his country's living symbol of resistance.

In the old South Africa, nothing more inflamed whites, Boer or Brit, than any kind of comparison of South Africa and the Soviet Union. Similarities between the crippling restrictions on political and economic rights that the ideologies of apartheid and communism enforced on disenfranchised minorities were angrily denied. Now, I suspect, there will be a sneaking pride among his followers in having Mr. de Klerk compared to the lionized Man of the Decade. Here lies a chance for South Africa to cease being the polecat of the world.

In one bound, Mr. de Klerk actually overtook Mr. Gorbachev in promoting a new order at home. By releasing Mr. Mandela and agreeing to organize round-table discussions with

the ANC on a new constitution, Mr. de Klerk has willfully split his own political base at home. He accepts that the future is to be determined not only by institutions under his control.

Meanwhile, in the Soviet Union, Mr. Gorbachev continues to avoid biting the reform bullet, as his last-minute fudging on the issue of the party's monopoly on power showed last week. He still balances between radical reformers and old-thinking hard-liners. Mr. Sakharov died last December in frustration and bitterness over Mr. Gorbachev's inane caution and deference to opponents on domestic reform.

Mr. de Klerk's predecessors in the National Party were always going to get around to fundamental change, just as soon as they had dealt with breakaway Afrikaner movements on their right. They never did, of course. Mr. de Klerk has dealt with those movements by confronting and jettisoning them, even though they represent both political and physical threats to him. It is persuasive evidence that he recognizes that the racial ideology his country has lived by for four decades must also be jettisoned.

This is leadership, the most powerful force for positive change in race relations. Whether in South Africa or South Carolina, the empowered discard racial prejudice as a way of life, and of domination, only when they are pushed to do so by their leaders, who must be willing to confront prevailing social pressures and entrenched interests. The willingness of the public at large to change lags behind the willingness of its leaders to risk their careers and even their lives to challenge prejudices that define family and clan loyalties, and social orthodoxy. Mr. de Klerk's predecessors pretended that they had to wait for society to change on its own and to lead them.

It was a transparent excuse for doing nothing. That it was happily

accepted by Presidents Nixon, Ford and Reagan, who worked to keep America on the sidelines of one of the century's great moral struggles, demonstrates how little these American leaders understood their own nation's problems and opportunities in civil rights and race relations.

Mr. de Klerk has put an end to the Afrikaner pretense that leaders must follow. This is another reason to hope that Mr. Bush's invitation for a Washington visit will bring positive results. It will expose the Oval Office's Mr. Safe. It will put the time by taking a bold decision that will cost him part of his electorate, but which may save his nation from disaster.

Mr. de Klerk has found a more compelling cause in office than reducing capital-gains taxes. Who can now argue with a straight face that it would bestow too much dignity and honor on the South African to be received by George Bush?

The Washington Post.

On Gorbachev's Strategy, The West Has It Backward

By Mark Kramer

PROVIDENCE, Rhode Island — The rumors that surfaced last month about Mikhail Gorbachev's imminent political demise were, as Mark Twain might have said, greatly exaggerated.

Once again, the Soviet leader has fended off any challenge to his power. Indeed, the changes approved on Feb. 7 by the Central Committee confirm that Mr. Gorbachev is politically stronger now than he has ever been. Although he may eventually be defeated if popular elections are held for the presidency, Mr. Gorbachev has left an indelible mark on the Soviet political system.

So why have so many Western observers been so consistently wrong about Mr. Gorbachev's political fortunes? And why have Western journalists, scholars and public officials been worrying about the supposed precariousness of his political future when in fact the Soviet leader has continued to amass political clout?

Part of the reason is that the Soviet political process remains murky even in the age of glasnost. This breeds rumor and speculation. Yet, more important than the lack of information is the repeated failure of many Western observers to make careful use of information that is available.

Most Western analysts still largely agree on two key assumptions: that Mr. Gorbachev hopes his reforms will save the Communist system, and that the recent turmoil in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is a threat to those reforms.

Evidence has been mounting for some time, however, that both assumptions are wrong.

Initially, it seems, Mr. Gorbachev did hope to salvage the Communist system through a combination of administrative restructuring, personnel changes and increased discipline and order. But before long, as the magni-

tude of Soviet economic problems became more apparent and as the early reforms of perestroika produced few results, he apparently concluded that much more radical steps were needed. He also soon realized that he could never implement radical measures if he relied on the Communist Party.

Thus, by the spring of 1988, Mr. Gorbachev reluctantly began to alter the focus of perestroika. Rather than trying to save the Communist system, he now seeks gradually to do away with it. The creation of a new system that would be conducive to radical economic and political reform could succeed only if the existing order were simultaneously destroyed.

In mid-1988, Mr. Gorbachev launched his first major attack on the Communist system at the 19th party conference. The changes he secured at the conference, which were confirmed a few months later by a plenum of the Central Committee, resulted in a drastic scaling back of the central party apparatus.

These measures, and subsequent reforms transferring functions from the Communist Party to the state and the legislature, have steadily reduced party control over Soviet political and economic life. Mr. Gorbachev now hopes to accelerate that trend exponentially by creating a multiparty system and enabling the Supreme Soviet, which he chairs, to become the highest political institution.

To reinforce this program of radical change at home, Mr. Gorbachev recognized that he would also have to abandon the foreign policies left over from his predecessors that tended to prop up the orthodox Communist system. Hence, after having escalated the war in Afghanistan for the first two and one-half years that he was in power, Mr. Gorbachev did an about-face in early 1988, agreeing to the complete withdrawal of Soviet



troops. Within a year, all Soviet forces were indeed gone.

Similarly, Mr. Gorbachev initially sought to promote greater economic integration and an expansion of political and military collaboration in Eastern Europe. But by the spring of 1988 he had come to recognize that the maintenance of unpopular Communist regimes in the area was not only a drain on Soviet economic and military resources, but also an impediment to radical reform in the Soviet Union.

Consequently, he decided, in effect, to abandon the whole notion of a "socialist commonwealth," which had been used by previous Soviet leaders

to "legitimize" the Communist model. By permitting, and even facilitating, the collapse of communism in one East European country after another, Mr. Gorbachev exposed how bankrupt the old model was. Far from being detrimental to him, this turmoil removed a key external prop on which his domestic opponents could rely.

Mr. Gorbachev's desire to replace the existing system has been just as evident in his campaign against the Soviet military. Until the late 1980s, the armed forces were one of the greatest sources of pride for Soviet Communist officials. But over the last two to three years, Mr. Gorbachev has

vastly downgraded the ceremonial role of the Soviet Army and has tolerated, and indeed encouraged, scathing criticism of the military.

He has also been steadily laying the groundwork to make large cutbacks in the armed forces and has already started to reduce military production. In the process, he is undermining yet another pillar of the old system that otherwise would be an obstacle to radical reform.

Even the recent turbulence among Soviet ethnic minorities can work to Mr. Gorbachev's long-term advantage. It is probably true, as his hard-line rival, Yegor Ligachev, recently asserted, that "the intensity of the ethnic issue came as a surprise" to the Politburo. But the venting of these ethnic grievances has reinforced the attacks that Mr. Gorbachev himself is launching against the traditional Soviet system.

Moreover, as the British economist Philip Manson has pointed out, it seems likely that "a Soviet Union that is somewhat smaller, but a lot less internally divided, will be more capable of achieving the economic transformation that its present leaders seek."

It is erroneous to believe that the mounting turmoil in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is a threat to Mr. Gorbachev's reforms. Quite the contrary. His aim is not to save the Communist system; he wants to dismantle it. Turmoil is not an obstacle to his plans, but a sign that they are working. The stronger Mr. Gorbachev has become, the more turmoil there has been as the destruction of the old order proceeds apace.

This is not to say that Mr. Gorbachev will now be able to overcome the formidable obstacles to economic revitalization, which is probably a hopeless task. Nor is it clear who might be elected president if he does not prevail. But regardless of his ultimate fate, Mr. Gorbachev has already gone a long way toward replacing the political system that would have denied any hope of economic success, for either him or a successor.

The writer is a research fellow at Brown University's Center for Foreign Policy Development and a senior fellow at The Brookings Institution. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

Gorbachev's Real Aim? Increasing His Own Power

By Jerry F. Hough

This is the second of two articles.

DURHAM, North Carolina — Let us not get carried away in interpreting last week's news and once again misunderstand what Mikhail Gorbachev is up to. Forget the talk about the "eventual" multiparty system. There will be no national elections for four years in any case. And let us take the talk about the abandonment of Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution with a grain of salt. There are many ways to serve Article 6's function of protecting the party's hold on power, and, in any case, it may only be revised.

If Mr. Gorbachev is serious about Article 6, then he is in effect promising a completely free press and completely free trade unions. Do we believe this? I do not. I believe that he is trying to change the constitution to recognize a "fair competition" as Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov put it — not to permit the East Europeanization of Soviet politics.

Let us look at what is to happen in the short run. Mr. Gorbachev's proclamation of a willingness to have a dialogue with all organiza-

tions "committed to the Soviet Constitution and the social system endorsed in this constitution" suggested that the constitution would still have language that could be used against critics of the social system.

He spoke of "the diversity of modes of ethnic life in an integrated and united state," and then added, "It must be clear that those who depart from principled positions, follow in the wake of obsolete sentiments, or fall under the influence of nationalist passions will find themselves outside political life."

The real thrust of the institutional changes is to increase Mr. Gorbachev's own power at the expense of the Supreme Soviet.

The Supreme Soviet was elected directly by a Congress of People's Deputies, two-thirds of whose deputies were elected directly and one-third by official "public organizations." The Soviet leaders clearly expected that this combination would produce a

compliant legislature. In reality, the Supreme Soviet has been extremely active and — predictably — has vigorously defended the old social-welfare policy dear to its constituents.

This will now change. Mr. Gorbachev spoke of giving the president "all the necessary powers to implement the policy of perestroika," and the program suggested a significant strengthening of the powers of the president vis-à-vis the Supreme Soviet.

At the same time Mr. Gorbachev retained his party posts, although the position of general secretary is to be renamed "party chairman." Most interesting of all, the Central Committee will become "a body working on a permanent basis."

The implications of this move are profound. The importance of the Politburo is that it has the power to make policy between sessions of the Central Committee. But if the Central Committee is always in session, there is little for a Politburo to do, and Mr. Gorbachev can always bypass it by appealing to the 300-person Central Committee, which will be easier to control.

The plenum was also notable for a change it did not make — one in the party rules. The party rules say the decisions of the Central Committee are obligatory for the Communists in the Supreme Soviet. This rule has been only sporadically enforced in the last year, and it almost surely will be softened at the next plenum. However, the fact that the question was postponed until after the elections suggests that the rule will be basically retained. This will give the permanently acting Central Committee special power if Mr. Gorbachev has further trouble in the Supreme Soviet.

I do not want to suggest that Soviet politics will suddenly become smooth because of what Mr. Gorbachev accomplished last week. As it becomes clear to Soviet radicals that the constitutional changes will be less drastic than some had hoped, the disillusionment may be expressed in demonstrations. After all, one-third of the deputies from official "public organizations" will be a part of the conservative vote in the congress that changes the constitution, and this will not be considered legitimate by the radicals.

To cope with this sort of disorder, Mr. Gorbachev can, if necessary, use as a rallying cry either the Soviet economic problems or, more likely, the ethnic threat to the union.

In the long run, the politics of the Soviet Union will become more complicated. Mr. Gorbachev doesn't want to go down in history as another Leonid Brezhnev or Erich Honecker,

and once the economic situation begins to improve rapidly — as it will over the next couple of years — he can think about his place in history. He can loosen control on democratic institutions, confident that they cannot hurt him. And he can hope that this will set the stage for further democratization after he has gone, giving him the reputation of a great reforming, democratizing czar rather than a force against change.

But it is in the short run that we in the West and Mr. Gorbachev must deal with the unification of Germany, the loosening of economic relations, the withdrawal of foreign troops in Western and Eastern Europe, and the establishment of completely reliable command-and-control of Soviet and American nuclear weapons in a new age.

Only if we understand how strong Mr. Gorbachev is politically, and how unified the party leadership is about the need for economic reform, will we begin to think seriously about our foreign policy choices instead of just reacting to his initiatives. It has been fun to pretend that communism and dictatorship are dead in the Soviet Union, but we have paid heavily for this self-indulgence. The 1990s are a decade to face up to responsibilities.

The writer is a professor of political science at Duke University and a senior fellow at The Brookings Institution. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1890: Sioux Cede Land

PIERRE, South Dakota — The land recently ceded by the Sioux Indians is as extensive as the whole of England. It was entered yesterday [Feb. 13] by Government permission by many thousands of homestead settlers. There was much confusion, but little trouble.

1915: England Is Jubilant

LONDON — All England is rejoicing to-day [Feb. 14] at the superb flight of her great air fleet, thirty-four strong, across the Channel, with not a serious injury to a pilot, and accidents to only two of the machines. It seems almost incredible that it was only five years ago that Blériot made the pioneer aeroplane trip across the Channel, so vast and rapid has the progress been ever since that time. The mid not only represents the largest fleet of aircraft that has ever operated together, but it is also a fitting reply to the

German bombardment of British towns. It also will serve as a warning to the Kaiser's forces in Belgium of further damage.

1940: News in Brief

Washington: The House today [Feb. 13] received a record-breaking naval appropriations bill for \$967,000,000, including funds for 19 new fighting ships, among which are two 45,000-ton super-dreadnoughts, and 352 airplanes.

Tokyo: Foreign Minister Hiroto Arata was accused of being pro-British by Ryo Koyama in the Diet today. He charged that the Foreign Minister was partly responsible for the resignation of Premier Hiranuma, predecessor to the recently fallen Premier General Abe. New York: The United States exported over 2,000,000 tons of scrap iron to Japan in 1939. The Committee for Non-Participation in the Japanese War of Aggression said: The committee urged restrictions on such exports, stressing that scrap iron was necessary to Japan's continuing the war in China.

The W From

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U.S. L Shrink In Dev

By William J.

NEW YORK — The administration's present course in financing for defense initiative, and anti-missile weapons, aroused White House officials the idea has failed to live up to the hopes of tech and budget cuts.

A key force behind President Reagan's decision to develop a near-peer against a Soviet missile long-range goal that seemed beyond technical possibility. The idea for an X-35 so new and radical that it could replace the White House crash program of an X-33 might yield soon.

The revolutionary X-35, proposed by scientists at the Livermore National Lab, California, a nuclear reactor, was unveiled in Washington by the president's personal aide, Edwin E. Brown. Over time the breath-taking: a single missile flying out of the missile silo in one clear blast to trigger laser rods that would every enemy missile in the X-ray laser use by nuclear war-heads.

And just in case a single missile did not do the trick, the multiple X-ray lasers, of wiping the skies clean of my missiles in sight. But the research program has been much heralded, has been technical setbacks, funds and an excess of fuel, illustrating what the perils of being in programs on research that are barely gleams in the eyes of scientists.

Imperial Training

Tokyo — Kido Kiyomasa, commoner and former Aya, began a special training program. He came an associate of the imperial family, official Household Agency.

OPINION

The World's Waking Up From a Horrible Hiatus

By Flora Lewis

OTTAWA — If a modern Rip Van Winkle had been asleep only a few months, he would still wake up astonished. And he would have to whirl his head in all directions because history is playing leapfrog now, as countries jump ahead of each other week by week to escape the long nightmare.

Foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact and NATO began meeting here Monday for the first time, and what's more, several Easterners are new, non-Communist, recently pale-faced prisoners. Officially the subject is "Open Skies," a proposal for virtually unlimited mutual aerial inspection to assure against military surprises. It revises the idea President Eisenhower offered two generations ago, rejected then in favor of Cold War. This time it will be accepted but with the military machines it's meant to warn against about to shrink faster than they can be bargained away.

As the officials flew to Ottawa from a breathless series of bilateral meetings all over Europe, Nelson Mandela materialized on world TV. That was not a coincidence. South Africa, too, is stirring with the need to get out of a paralyzing past and get on with bright hopes that blossomed after World War II to be quickly crushed.

Each country, each region has its own special problems in the awakening. But it is shaking people everywhere with the sense that the impossible is about to come true, for better or for worse, but in daylight now.

In 1919 the American journalist Lincoln Steffens went to Moscow and returned to say, "I have seen the future and

it works." It turns out that not only was he wrong about the prospects, it wasn't even the future, only a horrible hiatus.

A Russian Rip Winklovich would find that the leader of the Soviet Communist Party had given up its claim to monopoly and accepted the idea of competing parties, which Mikhail Gorbachev called rubbush last year.

Soviet republics are seriously talking independence. Moscow has started negotiations to pull its troops out of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, is prepared to talk withdrawal from Poland and is stumped, with only a meek, on what to do about its troops in Germany.

The biggest question again is Germany. In Ottawa, West German and Soviet officials gave contradictory versions of what happened at their meeting last week in Moscow. The signs are that the Soviets are about to carry another, decisive step further the formula that Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze gave to the recent Central Committee meeting explaining his country's moves in Eastern Europe.

It is easier to change our policies than their people," he said.

Last October, Moscow's question was the fate of East Germany's old leader, Erich Honecker. By the end of November, it was the fate of the East German regime. Now it is the fate of the East German state, which officials still call "a reality" but with no more conviction.

The fact is that Bonn is in control now to the extent that anybody is. Its timetable is to hold off the collapse of East



Germany until a new government emerges from March 18 elections, and then quickly work out unification procedures.

By September, Bonn plans to have something organized that it can invite the wartime Big Four (the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union) to discuss in a larger European context, and have it endorsed at a Helsinki anti-European meeting in November.

The Russians still talk about "neutrality" and a "long process," but that's already obsolete. Even the idea of a German peace treaty has disappeared, impos-

sible for 45 years and suddenly irrelevant. Last week, the Germans say, East Berlin administrators asked West Berlin to take responsibility for municipal services — hospitals, police, ambulances, transport, garbage collection — because there can no longer be a manager. There are similar breakdowns in other East German cities, but Berlin is going to be the capital again, and fairly soon.

The West German central bank has reluctantly agreed that it will take charge of East Germany's currency. Nobody knows how much there is because

it's being printed like newspapers. It's another sign that marks matter more than bombs and tanks, and that's a healthy sign of the way the world is changing.

A State Department official brushed aside criticism of U.S. support for Mr. Gorbachev, saying, "If he's a man with a moving bottom line, then our policy should be to help him move where we want him to go."

It's too late to chew over the past. Now we're going back to where live history left off, before the deep sleep.

The New York Times

The Last Valentine's Day, Or, Cupid's Follies Foiled

By Ellen Goodman

BOSTON — Our history books tell us now that 1990 was the year our forebears celebrated the last Valentine's Day. By then, the very idea of a national holiday for the celebration of love had become an anachronism, a holdout from the days of sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll.

Certain members of Congress had never approved of V-Day and there was

MEANWHILE

talk through the late '80s of withholding funds from any museum that harbored images of naked children under the pseudonym Cupid. At the very least, parents' groups believed stores should mark Valentine's cards with parental warnings.

But the final blow was the commission report completed that year on love. Not surprisingly, the commission concluded that love caused what the experts labeled "an altered state of consciousness." That phrase had a clear and ominous meaning for the stay-straight Nineties. Love was a substance and Americans were abusers.

The symptoms were common, nationwide and alarming. People who fell in love, the commission determined, had trouble concentrating. They were often distracted, found daydreaming, or staring in space, exhibiting a condition known as "blind love." Many experienced loss of appetite, elevated heart rates, a certain high color to the face, an effect that was easily identifiable to the naked eye.

The health implications of what the commission dubbed love abuse were worrisome, but so were the financial ones. Love, it estimated, cost the gross national product millions of dollars a year in lost productivity since this unchecked emotion took precedence over, say, strategizing hostile takeovers. In contrast, the commission pointed to the Japanese, who did not officially celebrate love with a national holiday. Need the commission say more?

There had long been concerns about love in America. Half a century earlier, a generation had questioned the subliminal messages, even in the old standards such as "Love is sweeping me off my feet," and "I can't give you anything but love, baby."

But this time the Woodstock generation, which had outgrown, worn out or given up all sorts of substances as they entered middle age, were the ones who turned their attention toward love. They searched for its telltale signs among their vulnerable children. Who could not worry about something that made people high, that produced ecstasy?

Before the Nineties, as students of history know, love had been a noun, or a verb. But by this time, love was increasingly used as an adjective, as in "love addict" and "love junkie." People in love described themselves as hooked on each other. Indeed, love created dependency or, worse yet, co-dependency. This was the subject of many best-sellers during the pivotal winter of 1989-90.

By the 21st century, it would become routine for Americans to introduce themselves by their name, their gender and their 12-step support program: "Hi, My Name is Alice and I'm in Love." But even in 1990, millions had already formed associations based on their addictions to the way their ancestors had come together by ethnic origin. No less an authority than Erica Jong, a former pusher of lover potions, had turned to writing about recovery. Abstinence was going around.

All of this laid the groundwork for acceptance of the commission's recommendations in 1990. The scientific evidence of a love epidemic required action. The Supreme Court approved random love testing for the workplace. Funding was set up for programs for people who wanted to free themselves of others. Educators were instructed to teach the young the risks of love. "Romance and Juliet" was banned. And in that atmosphere, Valentine's Day could no longer be tolerated.

Today Americans now date their long climb back from falling into love to that last Valentine's Day. The final and most debilitating excess, the most widespread high, was brought down to earth. Love came under control.

Occasionally, to this day, there is a report of some couple found together, faces flushed, but it is almost always after aerobics. Indeed, although recovery is never complete, it can be said that at last in the post-Valentine era we have nearly accomplished that wonderful goal of moderation in all things except misery. Thanks to our ancestors of 1990, we live in a Love Free America.

The Boston Globe Newspaper Company.

Pruning Prune Day

THINGS began innocently enough back in 1918, when Congress designated Mother's Day. But the Congressional penchant for commemoratives has since lurched out of control: National Prune Day, Tap Dance Day and Patient Account Management Day now compete with Dairy Goat Awareness Week for the national spotlight. If that weren't enough, Congress has declared the 1990s to be the Decade of the Brain.

Doesn't it have better things to do? An astonishing 38 percent of all laws approved last year celebrated a day, week, month or decade.

Representative Claudine Schneider, Republican of Rhode Island, along with Representative Dave McCurdy, Democrat of Oklahoma, proposes turning over the chore to a commission like the one that decides on commemorative stamps.

Momentum is building among lawmakers tired of buttonholing colleagues just to add to the clutter of forgettable occasions. If indeed, the '90s is to be the Decade of the Brain, this is one bill Congress will approve quickly.

The New York Times

The Soviet Union's Next Great Worry: Surging Turkish Nationalism

By Daniel Pipes

PHILADELPHIA — The shake-up in the Communist countries has ignited ferment among the tens of millions of ethnic Turks living there. Suddenly, Turkish nationalism, a passion thought long dead, has resurfaced in Europe and Asia.

It could lead to one of the most acute challenges to face the Soviet empire.

Consider the following major developments that have taken place in the past two years.

In a reprise of last year's Berlin Wall drama, Turks in Azerbaijan destroyed the "Azerbaijani wall," their name for border installations along the Soviet Union's border with Iran. They called for unification with Iranian Azerbaijan and the formation of an independent Azerbaijan state.

Since early 1988, fighting over the autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh has increased to the point that Armenians and Azerbaijani Turks are nearly at war with each other.

Crimean Turks, brutally expelled by Stalin in 1944 from their homeland at the northern edge of the Black Sea, have

defied the authorities and are returning to the Crimea.

In central Asia, a new nationalist organization of Uzbek Turks, called Utiy, has more than 500,000 members.

Also in Central Asia, more than 100 Meskhetian Turks died at the hands of Uzbeks during riots in June 1989.

Three hundred thousand Turks fled persecution in Bulgaria in 1989, in one of the most massive emigrations in years. After a reform government took over and ended the harassment of Turks, the majority Christian population in Bulgaria took to the streets in anti-Turkish protests.

The Bulgarian and Greek governments have begun planning military cooperation against their common nemesis, Turkey. In a possible foreshadowing of the new European order, it now seems to matter less that one government belongs to the Warsaw Pact and the other to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization than that both governments are Christian.

For most observers, it may come as a surprise that Turks live in so many countries, for Turks are usually associ-

ated with the Turkish Republic. Some 44 million Turkish-speaking people make up almost 90 percent of the republic's population, but more Turks live outside it than in it, inhabiting swath of countries from the Adriatic Sea in the west to the further reaches of Siberia in the east.

The largest number, 42 million, live in the Soviet Union, followed by 11 million

Half of all Turks live under Communism.

in Iran, 7 million in China, 2 million in Afghanistan and 1 million in Bulgaria.

In addition, there are 400,000 in Iraq and 200,000 each in Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia and Mongolia. Cyprus and Syria each have 100,000 Turks.

The Turks are almost entirely Muslim; with a total population of some 108 million, they constitute the second largest ethnic group in Islam, following only the Arabs.

Why their wide dispersal?

First, for many centuries Turks were superior soldiers, ruling in a great many countries. At the height of their power in the 16th century, dynasties of Turkish rulers held sway in an area extending from Algeria to India, from the Balkans to southern Arabia. This tradition of power translates today into resentment against them. Inherited hostilities help explain current troubles in Bulgaria and Nagorno-Karabach.

Second, Turks were a nomadic people who traveled vast distances in search of pastures and plunder. They tended not to live in cities. In modern times, this meant that they remained at some remove from modernization processes and, unable to mobilize politically, rarely succeeded in establishing their own states.

As a result, with the exception of Turkey, Turks everywhere constitute a minority population. A great many Turks are frustrated nationalists, especially in Azerbaijan and Central Asia.

These patterns have taken on new importance as Soviet hegemony has declined. Half of all Turks live under

Communist regimes. Of the 13 countries in which substantial numbers reside, seven have Communist governments.

As Moscow lifts the dead hand of Communist rule, Turkish nationalism and age-old ethnic animosities are again being heard. In some cases, as in Nagorno-Karabach, Turks are exploiting the new freedom to wreak revenge on traditional foes; elsewhere, as in Bulgaria, they are the victims.

The Kremlin's troubles are only beginning, for the repatriation of Turks outside Turkey has many ramifications. In the face of weakened control from Moscow, Soviet Turks are unlikely to accept rule by Russians indefinitely.

Ercument Konukman, a Turkish government minister, recently said that, in coming years, Soviet Turks "will rise up, attain their independence" and establish states under the Turkish flag. He might just be right.

The writer, a member of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, is the author of the forthcoming book "The Kurdish Affair." He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

GENERAL NEWS

U.S. Laser Weapon Shrinks to a Gleam In Developers' Eye

By William J. Broad

NEW YORK — As the Bush administration presses for a big increase in funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative, the visionary anti-missile weapon that first aroused White House interest in the idea has fallen to its lowest ebb ever, the victim of technical failures and budget cuts.

The non-fading X-ray laser was a key force behind President Ronald Reagan's decision in 1983 to try to develop a near-perfect shield against a Soviet missile attack, a long-sought goal that had always seemed beyond technical reach.

The idea for an X-ray laser was so new and radical that it helped convince the White House that a crash program of anti-missile research might yield successful arms.

The revolutionary laser was proposed by scientists at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in California, a nuclear weapons center, and was tirelessly promoted in Washington by the laboratory's patriarch, Edward Teller.

Over time their vision became breathtaking: a single weapon capable of wiping out the entire Soviet missile fleet in one flash of light.

The X-ray laser would use a nuclear blast to trigger an array of laser rods that would fire up to 100,000 beams of radiation across space at the speed of light, striking every enemy missile in the air, even as the X-ray laser itself vaporized by nuclear self-destruction.

And just in case a single weapon did not do the trick, there would be multiple X-ray lasers, each capable of wiping the skies clean of all enemy missiles in sight.

But the research program, once much heralded, has been shaken by technical setbacks, cutbacks in funds and an exodus of key personnel, illustrating what critics said are the perils of basing major military programs on research advances that are barely gleams of hope in the eyes of scientists.

Imperial Training in Japan

Agence France-Presse
TOKYO — Kiko Kawashima, a commoner and fiancée of Prince Aya, began a special monthlong training program Tuesday to become an associate member of the Imperial Family, officials of the Imperial Household Agency said.



RETURN PERFORMANCE — The conductor and cellist Mstislav Rostropovich rehearsing in Moscow for a performance on Tuesday night, his first in the Soviet Union in 16 years. Mr. Rostropovich, 62, the conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra in Washington, left the Soviet Union in 1974. He was stripped of his citizenship in 1978, but the authorities restored it in January.

JAPAN: An Anxious World Watches the Japanese Economic Snowball as the Country Pursues a New Destiny

(Continued from page 1)

reputation for treating local residents with disdain, the Japanese lead has not always been welcome.

Senator Timothy E. Wirth, Democrat of Colorado, who recently visited Bangkok, said that Thai repeatedly told him that they wished American companies were more active but had resigned themselves to Japan's dominance.

Asked whether South Koreans would accept Japanese economic leadership despite centuries of animosity, Chang Moon Jong, a South Korean National Assembly member and a son of Hyundai Corp.'s founder, said: "It's not a matter of choice in Asia. That's a very hard fact to recognize. In terms of money and technology, the Japanese have already conquered Asia."

So far, Japan's factories in East Asia mostly export goods to Europe, North America and Japan itself. But in the long run, Japan has grander designs.

"We contribute technology, we

contribute jobs, and these Asian countries are booming," said Akio Morita, chairman of Sony Corp. "These Asian markets will become good markets for ourselves."

Fear of being shut out of Europe's market when it unifies after 1992 has motivated Japanese companies to build plants there, too: Toyota in Britain, Daihatsu in Poland, Nippon Sheet Glass in France. In 1989, Japan invested more than \$14 billion in Europe, up from \$1.7 billion five years earlier.

Only blatant protectionism has kept European car makers and other crucial industries from being overrun by efficient Japanese competitors, many analysts say.

But it is in Japan and in the United States that one can best see what Mr. Courtis, the economist, calls the "third economic miracle," after Japan's postwar recovery and its adjustment to the 1973 oil shock. Japan's economic fundamentals sound too good to be true: inflation and unemployment below

3 percent, a public sector in the black, virtually no dire poverty, record corporate profits, a booming stock market, rising productivity, the developed world's highest savings rate.

What matters most for the future is what Japan is doing with those savings. Last year, 24 percent of the national output was reinvested in research, development and manufacturing capacity, compared with about 10 percent in the United States.

The resulting cycle is plain: Japan makes better cars, smaller computers, more powerful chips. Those reap more profits, which allow greater investment. That produces even better cars, and leaves the competition still further behind, many economists say.

With a population half the size of the United States, Japan will have an economy 80 to 85 percent as big as America's by the year 2010, said Tomoharu Washio, a trade expert here. Mr. Courtis disagreed; he

thinks Japan will reach that level late in this decade.

"The money that Japan is spending on research and development is not going into B-1 bombers; it's going into new products and new manufacturing processes," said J.S. Warburg Securities in Tokyo.

"The quantum leap that will happen in two or three years will be breathtaking."

While American companies are just beginning to research movie-quality television, known as high-definition TV, Toshiba Corp. is building an assembly line that will start turning out HDTV picture tubes in August. As in television, so in next-generation laptop computers, facsimile machines, audio equipment and more.

U.S. industry is by no means prostrate. Its exports have been growing, too, including to Japan, and it leads Japan in technologies such as aeronautics and satellites. But all U.S. industries are relying

more on Japan for their crucial building blocks: machine tools, robots, computer chips and even the machines that make computer chips. While U.S. imports from Japan doubled between 1983 and 1988, imports of such capital goods nearly tripled.

"American industry is depending more and more on Japanese industry," Mr. Morita said.

America is depending more and more on Japanese money, too. Japanese banks bailed out the state of Massachusetts last month. While South Korea just graduated into a prosperity that disqualifies it from Japanese aid, Japan's Export-Import Bank is considering subsidized loans, of the type usually reserved for developing nations, to Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi.

Japan routinely lends the U.S. government enough to cover more than 30 percent of its debt, thereby helping keep the U.S. economy afloat.

In addition, Japan invested near-

ly \$22 billion in the United States in 1988 and more than \$26 billion last year, buying or building ski resorts in Alaska, cattle ranches in Montana.

Pressed by Japanese competition at home, many American companies cannot afford a similar stake in Japan, where U.S. industry invested only \$2 billion in 1988. Thus, Japanese makers may hold a 30 percent share of the U.S. auto market by 1992; U.S. cars captured one-third of 1 percent in Japan last year.

Michael H. Armatost, U.S. ambassador to Japan, said that Japanese investment in the United States is beneficial, despite some "growing pains." Such investment brings jobs, new technologies, new management methods and a healthy, if sometimes painful, spur to U.S. companies.

But Mr. Armatost also said such investment may not be welcomed forever if Japan does not open itself to similar investment from abroad.

as Led

led by President Nixon, President Reagan, who worked to bring the great powers back to the table, how little these American problems and their own rights and needs were considered. It is a stark reminder of the danger of a leader who is not listening to the people.



...downgraded the command of the Soviet Army and has also... the Soviet Union, the... of the military.

He has also been steadily... the groundwork to make... the armed forces have... already started to reduce... production. In the process... determining yet another plan... and system that otherwise... as obsolete to radical reform.

Even the recent turbulence... ethnic minorities has not... Mr. Gorbachev's long-term... it is probably time to let... and to let... the military.

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MEDIA MARKETS

At LA Gear, Joe Montana Follows Michael Jackson

By Bruce Horowitz
Los Angeles Times Service

MARINA DEL REY, California — Just months after landing America's best-known singer, LA Gear Inc. has scored again with football's premiere player, Joe Montana, the quarterback who has led the San Francisco Forty-Niners to two consecutive Super Bowl victories, has signed a three-year contract estimated at \$3 million to \$5 million to become a spokesman for LA Gear of Marina del Rey.

Joining a growing list of celebrities, Mr. Montana finds himself keeping company with the pop star Michael Jackson, who became an LA Gear spokesman last fall. LA Gear, the third-ranking American athletic shoe maker, said it will introduce a "Montana" line of cross-training shoes later this year, and a "Montana" line of jeans.

Cross-training shoes are multiple-use footwear that can be used for any of several sports.

"I try to take advantage of endorsement opportunities without it becoming overly ridiculous," Mr. Montana said in an interview before Monday's news conference at a Marina del Rey hotel. "It's probably pretty close to that point right now."

The quarterback also pushes Pepsi, Disneyland, Hanes underwear and Power Burst fruit drink.

Already a spokesman for Pepsi, Disneyland, Hanes (sleeveless and Power Burst fruit drink), Mr. Montana said that part of his agreement with LA Gear is to not sign on with any other companies for several years. He was previously plugging Mizuno, a brand of cleated sports shoes.

But Mr. Montana, who makes \$2.55 million a year playing football, said he still makes more money at that than for all the products he now endorses.

Meanwhile, LA Gear obviously hopes it has found the right personality to increase sales of its cross-training shoes. LA Gear's cross-trainer line is far outsold by rivals Reebok and Nike, which tend to stress performance over fashion. Now, LA Gear is countering with Mr. Montana, who says he plans to wear some newly designed LA Gear shoes on the field next season.

"If you have an advertisement, and it calls for a guy wearing cross-trainers, don't you think more people will pay attention to it if the guy wearing the shoes is Joe Montana?" asked Sandy Saemann, executive vice president of LA Gear, in an interview.

A NEW COMMERCIAL for LA Gear featuring Mr. Montana, which Mr. Saemann will direct, is being filmed this week at the Los Angeles Raiders training facility in Oxnard, California. The story line of the commercial is similar to the popular Nike spot that features Bo Jackson playing a multitude of sports.

The LA Gear ad will show Mr. Montana taking part in such sports as baseball, basketball, weight lifting, bike riding and aerobics. The commercial will also feature clips of Mr. Montana tossing a touchdown pass in the Super Bowl.

"Maybe Bo knows baseball," joked Mr. Saemann, of the commercial he will direct, "but Joe knows Super Bowls."

He also knows to make his big commercial moves while he is still hot. "You never know," Mr. Montana said. "My football career could end tomorrow." Barring injury, he said that he expects to play four to five more years.

Mr. Montana said he has bought stock in LA Gear. Although it was one of Wall Street's top performers last year, LA Gear stock has fallen off in recent months. It fell 12.5 cents, to \$25 a share, in trading on the New York Stock Exchange on Monday.

At least one expert in the field of celebrity endorsements thinks that snaring Mr. Montana is a good move for LA Gear. "He's the American hero," said Alan Helford, president of the Hollywood company Ingels Inc. "He's got good-looking and well-spoken and everything an advertiser is looking for. Joe's at a plateau right now. And he won't fall unless something horrible happens — like San Francisco loses next season."

CURRENCY RATES

Currency	Per \$	Per 100	Per 1000	Per 10000
Australian dollar	1.39	139	1390	13900
British pound	1.64	164	1640	16400
Canadian dollar	1.28	128	1280	12800
Deutsche mark	1.78	178	1780	17800
French franc	6.55	655	6550	65500
Italian lira	1936	193600	1936000	19360000
Japanese yen	161	16100	161000	1610000
Swiss franc	1.48	148	1480	14800
West German mark	1.78	178	1780	17800
Yen	161	16100	161000	1610000

Source: Reuters. All rates are for 100 units of foreign currency per U.S. dollar. Rates are for 100 units of foreign currency per U.S. dollar. Rates are for 100 units of foreign currency per U.S. dollar.

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Now London Seeks to Host Europe Bank

Readers
LONDON — The British government declared Tuesday that it wants the proposed European bank for channeling Western development finance to Eastern Europe to be based in London.

Francis Maude, the minister of state at the foreign office, said that London, as Europe's biggest banking center, should be home to the proposed European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

"A London home would be good for the bank, good for the Community and other Western contributors, and good for Eastern Europe, harnessing the power of the City to the drive for liberal market solutions to Eastern Europe's economic difficulties," Mr. Maude said.

Vienna, Prague and Copenhagen have also been proposed as sites for the new bank.

Mr. Maude said the British government thought the European bank would galvanize the Western private sector to help develop a new private sector in the East.

London already hosts more East European banks than any other European city, has the biggest Eurobond market for primary issues and secondary trading and is the leading equity and foreign-exchange market in Europe, Mr. Maude said.

In Paris, officials said that a consensus is emerging among Western nations that the Soviet Union would put up some of the capital of the proposed East European Development Bank but would be barred initially from borrowing from it.

Although nothing has been finalized, they said many of the 24 industrialized countries represented at a preparatory meeting in Paris last week agreed that only countries with established multiparty democracies would be eligible to borrow from the bank. That would rule out, at least for now, the Soviet Union.

"It looks as though that may be written into the statutes," said a source who attended the meeting.

One issue was settled at last week's meeting when the United States withdrew its reservations about the Soviet Union's subscribing to the capital of the bank, which is expected to total 10 billion ECUs (\$12.2 billion), officials said.

Walter Curley, the U.S. Ambassador to France, told a journalists association that the United States would insist that the Soviet Union could not borrow from the bank.

Another reservation is that the bank should help fund private sector projects and not only public works, he said.

The European officials said it was also agreed in principle that the European Community and the European Investment Bank should between them hold 6 percent of the new bank's capital.

But the exact breakdown of the capital subscriptions remains to be decided.

Under a plan drawn up by the European Community, the United States would have 8.5 percent of the bank's capital, as would France, West Germany, Italy, Britain, Japan and the Soviet Union.

European Stocks Hit by Drexel News

Readers
PARIS — Share prices slumped in major European markets on Tuesday in response to the expected bankruptcy filing of Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc. and persistent interest rate worries.

In France, the Paris Bourse tumbled to its lowest levels of the year as the Drexel news combined with the Ferrier benzene contamination affair to turn market sentiment completely negative.

The CAC 40 index hit a new low at 1,839.81 during the afternoon but then recovered slightly to end at 1,845.43, down 21.97 points.

In London, prices were higher but market eased back just after the Drexel news hit. At the close, the Financial Times 100-stock index was up 6.3 points, at 2,293.2.

Dealers said investors were keeping to the sidelines mainly because of a general lack of confidence in the British corporate sector.

Analysts said that Drexel's troubles pointed to further pressure on the U.S. economy, especially for highly leveraged companies. Many European companies derive the bulk of their profits from the U.S. market.

On other European bourses, fears that higher inflation in West Germany will trigger a European-wide round of interest rate increases dragged prices lower.

In Frankfurt, the DAX index of 30 leading shares fell more than 1 percent, dropping 19.41 points to 1,840.98.

Average yields on government bonds rose to 8.79 percent Tuesday, from 8.74 percent on Monday, amid fears that a currency union with East Germany will send rates climbing further.

In later trading on the London International Financial Futures Exchange, March bond futures rebounded to close up 0.79, at 83.39.

One of day's worst declines came in Belgium, where the Brussels bourse suffered its biggest fall in months. The exchange stock index plunged 169.80 points, or 2.8 percent, to 5,850.07.

It was the biggest drop since October's mini-collapse on world markets, when the index fell 4.5 percent between sessions. But dealers said it felt worse than that.

"For us it's the biggest fall since October 1987," one dealer said.

Chrysler Posts Big Loss, Sells Gulfstream Unit

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
DETROIT — Chrysler Corp. posted Tuesday a \$664 million loss for the fourth quarter of 1989, its first since 1982, and the automaker said it was selling its Gulfstream Aerospace unit for \$825 million.

The loss came after one-time charges related to plant closings and job cuts in what analysts described as a strategy for survival in lean times.

The European officials said it was also agreed in principle that the European Community and the European Investment Bank should between them hold 6 percent of the new bank's capital.

But the exact breakdown of the capital subscriptions remains to be decided.

Under a plan drawn up by the European Community, the United States would have 8.5 percent of the bank's capital, as would France, West Germany, Italy, Britain, Japan and the Soviet Union.

World Tire Makers Battle for a Deflated Market

By Jonathan P. Hicks
New York Times Service

AKRON, Ohio — A decade ago a dozen major tire manufacturers, half of them American, vied for world leadership. Today, just six concerns are dominant. The only one of them based in the United States is Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

Goodyear Posts Lower 1989 Profit

Reuters
AKRON, Ohio — Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., reporting a drop in 1989 profit, said Tuesday that the competitive marketplace and the slowdown in the U.S. auto industry would continue to hurt its business through at least the first half of 1990.

Goodyear said its 1989 net profit, after several special items, was \$206.8 million, down from \$350.1 million in 1988, on sales that inched up to \$10.87 billion from \$10.81 billion.

The company said it is working to reduce manufacturing and operating expenses and to improve the efficiency of its production and distribution operations.

The major tire companies are spending freely, 2.5 percent to 3 percent of revenues, on research and development. They are buying computers to test tire durability, traction, fuel-efficiency, compatibility with new car designs and even noise.

Analysts consider Goodyear the research leader. The company spent \$300 million on research and development last year, or 3.5 percent of sales — up from 2.5 percent five years ago.

Companies are also using research to cut costs, especially for original equipment, the tires that automakers buy for new cars. For tire makers, marketing to the auto companies is at least as important as marketing to consumers.

Italian industry. Despite its purchase of Armstrong Tire, Pirelli, with revenue of \$3.3 billion last year, is only a third the size of Goodyear.

Pirelli has no significant presence in Japan and ranks no better than second in any European country except Italy.

Acquiring Pirelli would be extremely difficult. It would require the blessings of both the Pirelli family, which holds a 5.3 percent stake, and leading Italian industrialists (among them Carlo De Benedetti), who control 57 percent.

(UPI, Reuters, AP)

Weak demand has forced companies to invade each other's territories. And as the auto industry becomes more global, carmakers favor huge tire companies that can fill their needs.

At Goodyear's vast research-and-development center in Akron, the rubber meets the microchip before it meets the road.

Rows of technicians at computer workstations develop design tires. They test them with computer programs that seem like video games.

On screen, cars whir through courses with potholes, ice slicks and hairpin turns.

A decade ago, designing a tire for a new automobile model required testing 200 to 300 tires. Today, it takes about 65. "In the last few years, tire designing has moved from an empirical art to a science, because of the computer," said F. Vincent Prins, Goodyear's executive vice president for research and development.

Consolidation has intensified competition to cut production costs and increase quality. The industry has become surprisingly high-tech, spending more than \$1 billion on research and development last year, up by one-third from five years ago.

Next come West Germany's Continental AG, which bought General Tire; Pirelli SpA of Italy, which owns Armstrong; and Sumitomo Tire & Rubber Co. of Japan, which bought Dunlop. Two smaller Japanese makers, Yokohama Rubber Co. and Toyo Tire & Rubber Co., are both concentrated in Asia.

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Italy Proposes World Trade Organization

Reuters
ROME — The Italian government is planning to propose a new organization to handle world trade affairs to subsume the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Renato Ruggiero, the foreign trade minister, said Tuesday.

Hongkong and Midland Get Closer

Agence France-Press
LONDON — Midland Bank PLC and Hongkong & Shanghai Bank have begun talks aimed at setting up a "closer business association," the two banks announced Tuesday.

The statement, which made no mention of market speculation that the two banks might merge at some stage, boosted Midland shares to 370 pence (\$6.27), a gain of five pence.

"Midland and Hongkong Bank continue to develop their relationship and to discuss the form and nature of a closer business association between the two groups," the statement said.

In November 1987, the Hong Kong-based bank bought a 14.9 percent stake in Midland, which was then suffering problems due to its heavy portfolio of shaky Third World loans.

At the time of the purchase, Hongkong & Shanghai agreed not to boost its stake further without the permission of the Midland board until December 1990.

The British government is known to be against having an institution based in Hong Kong — which is due to revert to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 — take over a major British bank, and it is thought that China would be

publicly said that he would like to see a merger between the two banks. I think that is my position too. Whether that can be accomplished, time will tell."

Mr. Tress said the Hongkong Bank and its affiliate Hang Seng Bank will be one of the lead managers. He said a total of 15 banks have subscribed to the loan.

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Mr. Ruggiero said other members of the European Community have responded favorably to the proposal.

The new body would be called the International Trade Organization. GATT was negotiated in 1947 by 23 countries that were part of a United Nations committee drafting a charter for a proposed International Trade Organization. The charter was never ratified, and GATT has operated instead.

Mr. Ruggiero said it might eventually be possible to merge the proposed organization, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank into a single body.

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EUROPE

Losses Rise at Norway Banks

OSLO — The Norwegian banks Den norske Creditbank and Bergen Bank, blaming in part a softening real estate market in the United States, said Tuesday they were revising up their 1989 loan-loss estimates.

DnC, which is scheduled to merge with Bergen Bank by April, also said it would post a net loss for the year but did not give figures. In 1988, the bank recorded a loss of 963 million kroner (\$149.4 million).

"The increase in the loan losses will show the DnC group for 1989 will mean a loss after taxes and losses on loans," DnC said in a joint statement with Bergen Bank.

Explaining its estimates of higher loan losses, DnC said, "the reasons for the increase are a negative development in DnC America and DnC Luxembourg."

It said the real estate market in the Northeastern United States has been poor, while losses in Luxembourg were linked to steel trading.

Bergen Bank said it revised up its 1989 loan-loss estimates after a preliminary review of last year's figures, but gave no details.

Both DnC and Bergen were hit

hard as Norway's oil-based economy slid into recession in the last two years as oil prices fell. The banks, which lent freely during the oil-boom years, faced a record level of corporate bankruptcies and defaults.

DnC is one of the first foreign banks to cite troubles with U.S. real estate for loan losses. U.S. banks, however, have encountered heavy losses, especially in the northeastern part of the country.

BBL Reports Earnings Exceed Expectations

BRUSSELS — Banque Bruxelles Lambert SA had stronger results in the first quarter of the financial year that ends Sept. 30 than in the year earlier period, Jacques Thierry, chairman of the bank, said on Tuesday. He did not specify figures.

Though results were also better than expected, he added that they could not be taken as an indication of results for the full financial year. Shareholders earlier gave the Belgian bank permission to issue capital within the current ceiling in the case of a hostile takeover bid.

Both DnC and Bergen Bank have cut staff and operating levels in the last two years in the face of heavy loan losses.

Perrier Pulled From Japanese Store Shelves

TOKYO — Perrier Japan K.K., a subsidiary of the French bottled water company, said Tuesday that it was withdrawing its product from Japanese stores after the discovery of contamination of the beverage in the United States.

Last week, Perrier was recalled from U.S. and Canadian stores after the benzene was found in some samples.

Mika Iiyoshi, an executive of Perrier Japan, said the company decided to suspend shipments of its mineral water and withdraw an estimated 10,000 cases from stores until the Japanese Health and Welfare Ministry confirms its safety.

Each case contains 24 bottles of various sizes.

Ms. Iiyoshi said Perrier Japan markets 150,000 cases of Perrier water a year through two Japanese distributors, Santory Ltd. and Santory Foods K.K.

When the share sale flopped, investment firms handling the issue

Unit of NatWest Sells 9.2% Blue Arrow Stake

LONDON — A unit of National Westminster Bank PLC said Tuesday it had sold its 9.2 percent stake in the employment-services company Blue Arrow PLC to an unidentified U.S. institutional investor for \$97 million.

NatWest Investment Bank said it sold its 66.6 million Blue Arrow shares at an average of 86 pence (\$1.45) each, almost in line with the current market price of 88 pence on the London Stock Exchange.

But the price was down from the 166 pence prevailing in 1987 when NatWest's investment-banking and stockbrokerage units took on the stake following the failure of a sale of 837 million-worth of new Blue Arrow shares to existing shareholders.

The stock sale, known as a rights issue, was intended to help finance Blue Arrow's acquisition of U.S.-based Manpower Inc. for \$1.3 billion.

When the share sale flopped, investment firms handling the issue

held on to the unsold stock without disclosing it. County NatWest Ltd. kept some and placed some with a sister NatWest unit.

The failure of NatWest to disclose its Blue Arrow stake eventually led to a shakeup of the bank's management and criminal fraud charges brought against two of the bank's units and several executives.

While the identity of the U.S. investor was not disclosed, it appears to fit a pattern of stakebuilding by U.S. investors friendly toward Mitchell Fromstein, the former head of Manpower who last year wrested management control of Blue Arrow away from its founder, Tony Berry.

Southeastern Asset Management Inc. and Harris Associates LP of the United States each hold stakes of about 8 percent.

Mr. Fromstein plans to reincorporate Blue Arrow in the United States as Manpower Inc. About 65 percent of the company's shareholders are U.S. investors.

Investor's Europe

Frankfurt Commerzbank	London F.T. 100 Index	Paris C.A.C. 40
2000	2500	2100
1989	1989	1989
1990	1990	1990
Exchange	Index	Tuesday Close
Amsterdam	CBS General	108.70
Brussels	Stock Index	5850.07
Frankfurt	Commerzbank	2273.90
Frankfurt	DAX	1840.98
Helsinki	UNITAS	659.80
London	Financial Times 30	1818.10
London	FT-SE 100	2293.20
Madrid	General Index	283.34
Milan	MIIB	970
Paris	CAC 40	1845.43
Stockholm	Affarsvaeriden	1166.10
Zurich	SBS	650.30

Sources: Datastream, AFP

International Herald Tribune

Swedish Government Backs Down on Strike Ban

STOCKHOLM — Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's Social Democrats on Tuesday abandoned an unpopular attempt to outlaw strikes, losing political face but improving their chances of converting a tough economic package into law.

But political analysts said they could not exclude that the government would face defeat in a parliamentary vote this week. The government has said it would resign, sparking early elections, if the economic package was rejected.

"There is still the threat of new elections," Mr. Carlsson told a news conference Tuesday.

The government's strike ban proposal followed a labor dispute that has shut Swedish banks since Jan. 29, when the employers began a lockout of all staff. Talks broke off Friday when the staff rejected a mediator's offer of a 12 percent pay rise.

On Tuesday, Swedish bank em-

ployers said they were ready to resume wage talks but added that no meetings have been scheduled.

Parliament's Labor Committee withdrew the controversial strike ban plan on Tuesday when it became clear that the Social Democrats, who have only 158 seats in the 349-member parliament, would be outvoted.

The chamber also postponed its vote on the government's economic package until at least Thursday, to give the parliamentary committee time to draft an alternative.

Party leaders canvassed the opposition Communist Party on Tuesday seeking support for an alternative plan that would let the government impose pay settlements if employers and trade unions failed to agree.

The Communist leader, Lars Werner, said that he would consider backing the idea of imposed settlements, but only if it benefited the lowest-paid workers.

Mr. Carlsson's about-face on strikes drew derisive comment from Swedish media and was seen as a further blow to the credibility of the Social Democrats, whose popularity has fallen to its lowest level in 25 years.

"We underestimated the opposition to our strike ban," the minister of Labor, Mona Sahlin, conceded on Swedish television on Monday. Political commentators said the switch was particularly damaging to the reputation of Mr. Carlsson,

who two years ago was forced to back down in a dispute over his justice minister. Last year, he lost a tight over higher value-added tax.

The daily newspaper Svenska Dagbladet said in an editorial that Mr. Carlsson and Finance Minister Kjell-Olof Feldt had repeatedly contradicted themselves over economic policy. "This is the beginning of the end" for the Social Democrats' economic policy, it said.

BIG CROSSWORD
IN THE IHT EVERY SATURDAY.
THE FAMED NEW YORK TIMES
SUNDAY CROSSWORD —
ENOUGH TO KEEP YOU BUSY
ALL WEEK

Soviets Reduce Flow of Oil To Poland in First Quarter

WARSAW — The Soviet Union has cut crude oil deliveries to Poland by a third for the first quarter of 1990 and Warsaw may have to look elsewhere for supplies, the government newspaper Rzeczpospolita said on Tuesday.

The cut by Moscow, which provides most of Poland's oil imports, followed reported reductions in Soviet oil and gas supplies to other East European countries.

Jerzy Szewczyk, director of state oil firm CPN, told Rzeczpospolita that Moscow had cut deliveries of crude oil for the first three months of this year to 2.1 million metric tons from 3.1 million tons.

He did not make clear if all the deliveries had been made yet but said gas stations would not be affected if demand remained the same until the end of the first quarter. "However, if demand grows the CPN will buy fuel abroad," he added.

Mr. Szewczyk did not say why Soviet deliveries had been cut. But Moscow has proposed curbing low-cost oil sales to Eastern Europe to try to get more hard currency at market prices. Most trade in the area has long been on a barter basis.

Prague Weighs Selling Off Airline

LONDON — Credit Suisse First Boston Ltd. has been hired by the state-owned Czechoslovak Airlines to advise on a restructuring, a CSFB said Tuesday.

He said the sale of the airline to private investors was possible, but gave no details.

"We have been retained and will be advising on restructuring or privatization or whatever form the re-

structuring will take," the spokesman said.

Czechoslovak Airlines serves about 40 countries. It flies Soviet-made Ilyushin, Tupolev and Yakovlev aircraft.

CSFB is the European offshoot of Credit Suisse First Boston Inc. That company is 45 percent owned by Credit Suisse, the big Swiss banking company that is itself part of CS Holding.

Reuters Boosts Profit 31%

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — Reuters Holdings PLC, the British financial-information concern, Tuesday reported a 31.4 percent rise in its 1989 pretax profit despite the effects on financial markets of the 1987 stock-market collapse.

Helped by higher operating margins and a sharp rise in interest income, Reuters lifted profit to £283.1 million for the year, from £215.4 million in 1988. Revenue rose 18.3 percent, to £1.19 billion.

Glen Renfrew, managing director and chief executive of Reuters, said world financial markets, on which the company depends for most of its revenue, "have not all regained the high level of confidence" seen before the October 1987 collapse.

Nonetheless, he said, the company's core information and transac-

tion products had performed "very well."

Mr. Renfrew said the current outlook is for further good profit growth in 1990, though the company does not expect to match last year's rise in percentage terms.

The current year started with a big order backlog and a high rate of installations. "New orders continue to hold up," Mr. Renfrew said, "and we believe the major new products due to be introduced in the next few months have excellent prospects. We hope to go on earning good margins and to improve the cash position further."

He said orders were strong for the first phase of the company's new Dealing 2000 product, though new orders for major trading-room systems were a little lower.

Interest income in 1989 rose to £19.4 million from £8.8 million in 1988.

(AP, Reuters)

HAWAII LUXURY CIGARETTES

Wanted serious qualified investor/partner to establish cigarette manufacturing business in Hawaii. Must be financially capable to invest substantial amount of money. Years have gone into innovating and creating the most luxury cigarettes in the world. Complete line of 10 brand names with worldwide marketing appeal. Evidence indicates sales of 9 digit US\$ annual. Sales in Hawaii alone in the 10's of millions of US\$ annual. Excellent return on investment. Generous interest in the company. Plus, investor will be offered the first option in several related lucrative businesses. This offer is for principals only. Please write giving information including tele, fax, phone number to:

Mr. Y. OUCHI,
HARA-MACHI 1-49, SHINJUKU-KU, TOKYO JAPAN, 162.

NYSE

Tuesday's Closing
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

(Continued)

12 Month High Low Div Yld PE Ratio

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NASDAQ

Today's Prices
NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time. This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year.

High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield	High	Low	Stock	Div	Yield
110.00	109.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%
100.00	99.00	Apple Computer Inc.	0.00	0.0%	80.00	79.00	Oracle Corp.	0.00	0.0%
70.00	69.00	Intel Corp.	0.00	0.0%	60.00	59.00	Northern Telecom	0.00	0.0%
50.00	49.00	World Wide Web	0.00	0.0%	40.00	39.00	Amazon.com	0.00	0.0%

100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%
100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%
100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%

100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%
100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%
100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%

100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%
100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%
100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%

100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%
100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%
100.00	99.00	IBM Corp.	3.00	2.7%	100.00	99.00	Microsoft Corp.	0.00	0.0%

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Bankers At Philippine

MANILA — The Philippine government is planning to open up the banking sector to foreign banks. The government is currently negotiating with several international banks to establish branches in the Philippines. This move is part of a broader effort to attract foreign investment and modernize the financial system. The government has expressed a strong interest in bringing in expertise and capital from abroad to enhance the competitiveness of the local banking industry.

China Plans To Expand Steel Plant

BEIJING — The huge iron and steel complex in Shanghai is planning to expand its capacity to nearly 10 million tons a year. The expansion project is a major initiative by the Chinese government to strengthen its industrial base and meet the growing demand for steel in the country. The new plant will utilize advanced technology and is expected to significantly reduce production costs while improving the quality of the output. This expansion is seen as a key step in China's economic reform and industrial modernization efforts.

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Herald Tribune

AM

Today's
The Morning Edition
Herald Tribune

INTERNATIONAL FUNDS									
February 13th, 1990									
<p>Quotations supplied by funds listed. Not all values available. Quotations are supplied by the Funds listed with the exception of some values based on issue prices. The following symbols indicate frequency: (D) - daily; (W) - weekly; (M) - monthly; (Q) - quarterly; (Y) - yearly; (S) - semi-annually; (B) - bi-monthly; (T) - tri-monthly; (F) - fiscal year.</p>									
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Be sure that your fund is listed in this space daily. Telex Simon OSBORN at 613595F for further information.

Jakarta Funds Outgrow Stock Market

Investor's Asia

Hong Kong
Hang Seng

2500
2000

S O N D J F
1988 1990

Singapore
Straits Times

1600
1500
1400
1350

S O N D J F
1988 1990

Tokyo
Nikkei 225

32500
30000
30750
35000
32500

S O N D J F
1988 1990

Exchange	Index	Tuesday Close	Prev. Close	% Change
Hong Kong	Hang Seng	2863.55	2894.66	-1.07
Singapore	Straits Times	1575.88	1593.77	-1.12
Sydney	All Ordinaries	1628.30	1623.40	+0.30
Tokyo	Nikkei 225	37107.03	37268.14	-0.49
Kuala Lumpur	Composite	610.92	609.06	+0.31
Bangkok	Book Club	692.02	697.96	-0.85
Seoul	Composite Stock	866.57	867.05	-0.06
Taipei	Weighted Price	12126.96	12424.53	-2.40
Manila	Composite	1056.10	1047.94	+0.78
New Zealand	Barclays	1871.99	1869.98	+0.11
Bombay	National Index	N.A.	375.30	-

Sources: Domestiques, Reuters, AFP

Investment Monitor Team

JAL and Thai Link Operations

Reuters

TOKYO — Japan Air Lines Co. and Thai Airways International Ltd. have agreed to link their computerized reservation and ticketing systems in a bid to take a bigger share in the rapidly growing Asian market, a JAL spokesman said Tuesday.

The airlines will increase Nagoya-Bangkok joint flights to three a week on March 31. Currently there are two.

They are also considering operating flights between Bangkok and other cities in Asia and the Middle East.

Soviets Establishing Malaysian Ventures

The Associated Press

KUALA LUMPUR — The Soviet Union is establishing five joint ventures with Malaysian companies in trade, manufacturing and technology, according to Konstantin Peskov, the Soviet trade commissioner in Malaysia.

The first venture, Proident Malaysia Ltd., a trading company, established last October with the Kuok Brothers Group of Malaysia, so far had exported about 80,000 tons of palm oil to the Soviet Union, he said. The other four are at various stages of progress.

12 Month		Div		Yld		PE		S&P		12 Month	
High	Low	Stock	Div	Yld	PE	100s	High	Low	P.M. Chng	High	Low
4 1/4	4 1/4	14 1/4	12 1/4	PG&E	1.25	9.2	-	15	14	13 1/2	13 1/4 - 1/4
12 1/2	12 1/2	14 1/4	11 1/4	PG&E	1.20	9.1	-	5	12 1/2	13 1/2	13 1/4 - 1/4

[illegible]

SPORTS

South Africa Deserves FIFA's Notice

LONDON — It is more than coincidental that Nelson Mandela returned to his people in a soccer stadium on Tuesday. Practically speaking, Soccer City, a new \$17 million stadium situated between Soweto and Johannesburg, was chosen so that 85,000 people could see him.

But it is not merely the size and convenience of the building that made it suitable for Mandela's spiritual homecoming. By such shallow logic we would have to always equate Santiago Stadium with the torture and slaughter of Chilean dissidents years ago.

No, soccer, I would suggest, has earned the right to be a catalyst toward a greater racial tolerance in South Africa.

The sport long ago befriended apartheid's disenfranchised majority. It grew from the ground up to embrace integration in measures that were until now a punishable offense.

Keep sport out of politics? You may as well keep blood out of veins!

This writer detests those who, like the English cricketers about to be sent packing from South Africa, sell their conscience for Krugers.

The soccer they give to sport laid on for racism's apologists is unworkable.

But soccer has its champions of conscience, notably in this instance Ruud Gullit. A Dutchman of Surinamese extraction, Gullit deliberately chose a hairstyle of flowing dreadlocks that dance as he works his magic on the field.

He is proud, not ashamed, of what he is. And with equal sincerity, he used his fame to campaign for the release of Mandela and the end of discrimination.

Maybe the time is coming when FIFA, the international soccer authority, should take the initiative to invite South Africa's reapplication into its 166-nation family.

Soccer there is predominantly black; let us forget, so is the population. But the blacks do not exclude anyone.

In the Soccer City stadium some months ago, South Africa's FA Cup final was played between two Soweto teams: Kaizer Chiefs and Moroka Swallows.

And while in normal society it is abhorrent to count the colors of men's skins, this time it is pertinent that Kaizer fielded eight blacks and three whites against Moroka's seven blacks.

Gary Bailey, who played four

Wembley finals for Manchester United in England, was Kaizer's goalie. "It's more fun than in England," Bailey commented.

would be prudent to canvass black opinion before reopening the door. Yet if President Frederik W. de Klerk really intends to remove

sense a derogatory term; indeed it was a milestone never quite lifted from Zico.

There never could be another Pelé. There will never be such freedom as he exploited on the field. But I confess, I am surprised at Zico's statistical excellence:

Played 89 times for Brazil, 66 goals.

Played 1,046 professional games, 729 goals.

The statistics are second only to you-know-who.

But a career is not worked out on a calculator. I will always remember meeting Zico (real name Artur Antunes Coimbra) 13 years ago on Dodo de Deus, the Finger of God mountain above Rio where Brazil trained.

He was so frail, the eyes so wary, the pressure so evident. But as we spoke, someone shouted a warning, a ball traveling at great speed threatened to decapitate us.

Zico kept his left foot raised above his head, and as he pulled the ball down, the sense of joy and of control in him blew away the stiffness.

What struck me was the almost effortless grace of movement. Zico bettered that when, with ballistic balance, he outwitted Italy's Claudio Gentile during a World Cup match in 1982.

A gliding body-swerve, followed by an instinctive back-heal from Zico put Soares through for Brazil's first goal in a breathtaking 3-3 draw in Barcelona.

In the same afternoon, Gentile tore the shirt of Zico trying to hold back the el. I wrote that I hoped Zico had offered the Italian the shoulder clasp during the sporting change of shirts at the final whistle.

Years later, I learned that he indeed did. The shirt is a proud possession of Gianni Agnelli, who owns Juventus, the club Gentile played for.

Also in Spain, Zico spoke for those who understand the true spirit of sport. Reacting to a dreadfully cynical, deliberately goalless game between Austria and West Germany, Zico observed:

"God should punish them for what they did."

Punishment comes in mysterious ways. I recall Zico missing a penalty that cost Brazil victory against France at the 1986 World Cup.

Somehow it was Zico's fate: the nearly man, nearly the white Pelé, nearly as good as the talent within him.

I refer to Zico, the man they called the white Pelé. It was in no

ROB HUGHES



Gullit



Zico

"There's less hatred. It's not war." Bailey, whom Sowetans call "Sunshine" because of his blond hair, then said something that players of differing ethnic backgrounds have assured me before:

"We learn to mix culturally. I believe it's a good pointer to the future that soccer is helping to lead the way in ending apartheid."

FIFA was right to bar South Africa in the 1970s and, with a quarter of its member nations African,

apartheid from the sporting constitution, then sport's former role as a builder of bridges is worth another chance.

But should soccer, with its popular mass support and its considerable corporate backing (South African Breweries is the main sponsor of the non-racial National Soccer League) be held back while others catch up?

Should it wait until apartheid is dismantled altogether?

Or should we recognize that soccer has already earned, in the face of repression, the reward of joining the world at play?

My view is that sports sanctions were humane and correct while South Africa uniquely wrote racial discrimination into its sporting constitution. The day that changes, we should no more isolate South Africa than many other nations whose regimes we dislike.

Integrated soccer in all its beauty has never been better exhibited than among Brazilians.

The game cannot feed or clothe or educate the poor, but it can, it does promote equality beneath the skin.

Almost to the day that President de Klerk opened his mouth on freedom in South Africa, one of Brazil's adored sons played his final game before 100,000 fans in Rio de Janeiro.

I refer to Zico, the man they called the white Pelé. It was in no

matter how minor, of Twain's life and work. He was a man of wide interests and enthusiasms, contradictory opinions and extraordinary physical and creative energy.

A journeyman printer, newspaper reporter, riverboat pilot, lecturer, writer, traveler, inventor, investor, essayist, novelist, short-story writer, devoted father of three daughters, devoted husband and friend to many of the notable personages of his time, he provided, in the 73 years of his life, more material for scholarship than any other writer of his time—or since.

There have been numerous volumes devoted to his letters, to his publishers, to his friend William Dean Howells, to his financial adviser, to acquaintances, and to his love letters to his wife. Every place he set foot has been the subject of books or articles: Hannibal, Missouri, of course, Calaveras County, Virginia City, Elmina, Buffalo, Nook Farm in Hartford, Bermuda, New York City, Stormfield in Connecticut and more. A cottage industry has flourished around his lectures, his disastrous career as a business man, his friendships with minor Will Bowen, humorist George Washington Cable, and Ulysses S. Grant, his goodness to Suzy and Clara, his daughters, and to Mary his maid, each of whom wrote a volume about him. His late-life friendship with teen-ager Dorothy Quick in Bermuda, a matter of a few months'

contact, is a volume in itself. The University of California's Bancroft Library bought his unpublished papers from Clara, and has been issuing configurations of volume of them in various configurations. Books of letters are still to appear.

Of course there are biographies. From the authorized three-volume life by his young admirer and literary executor, Albert Bigelow Paine, published two years after Twain's death, to Justin Kaplan's deservedly celebrated "Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain" in 1966, and all those in between, particularly the careful, scholarly but limited works of Dixon Welton, Bernard de Voto and Hamlin Hill, the fertile ground of the great man's life has been gone over, plowed, dug up, mined, until it would appear nothing new remains to be discovered in the dust.

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Friends! Romans! Countrymen! Lay Your Bets

By Clyde Haberman

New York Times Service

ROME — At the coffee bars where Romans flock to give their hearts and minds the kick-start they sometimes need, the talk Monday morning was of Mike Tyson and the Naples soccer team.

Monday here tends to be a day for losers, and there were more of them this Monday than normal.

All last week, hundreds of thousands of Italians had poured more than \$70 million into state-approved betting cards for Sunday's lineup of soccer matches across the country.

It is likely, experts said, that never before had so much been bet in a single week, and the total did not include the millions wagered illegally through bookmakers.

Without question, the \$26.2 million in prize money officially set aside for the winners set a record.

By Sunday night, it was clear that only 4,277 bettors had picked all 13 games correctly to win the top prize of about \$3,000 each.

By Monday morning, the far more numerous losers were standing in the bars, going over the details of how they went wrong.

By afternoon, many of them had their hands on new betting cards, looking for fresh opportunity next Sunday.

"All this wagering," lamented a Rome University sociologist, Franco Ferrarotti, "it reveals a distrust of rational planning."

Available evidence suggests that Italians have been swept away by gambling fever in the last few years, pouring growing billions not only into sports but also into lotteries, game shows, newspaper contests and gaming tables.

Not that the phenomenon is brand-new. They have always liked a fair wager, Italians say. This is, after all, a country where even the phone system amounts to a form of legalized gambling.

But the level of gambling has reached once-unimaginable heights, and from government officials to parish priests the race is on to find ways to cash in.

Corriere della Sera, a respected national newspaper, estimates that Italians spent \$12 billion last year on various forms of wagering, or \$210 for every person.

About \$4 billion of the total was bet illegally, the newspaper said.

The lawful amount alone was twice what it was estimated to be as recently as 1987.

There are six different national lotteries, which in 1988 added \$201 million to the hard-pressed government treasury.

But there are also more than 4,700 regional lotteries, not to mention 7,000 other local types of games of chance bringing in public revenues.

Television kept pace last year by scheduling 2,000 hours of money-driven game shows, a 33 percent increase from 1988.

A year ago, the gambling craze caught up with Italian newspapers as they cranked up high-stakes, bingo-style games in an attempt to boost circulation.

"Gambling has penetrated daily life in every aspect," said a report issued by Censis, a government-financed research group.

Why this has occurred is the sort of question that keeps sociologists gainfully employed arguing with one another.

The phenomenon is especially curious given the frugality suggested by the high savings

rate in Italy, which traditionally has hovered around 20 percent.

Money earned from wagering usually can be hidden from tax collectors, and that, Ferrarotti says, appeals to many people here.

Thus far, great dislocations from the betting boom seem to be few. A national equivalent to Gamblers Anonymous in the United States does not exist, and there are no press tales of families torn asunder by losses.

The mood seems to be to take advantage while opportunity is still knocking.

The minister of culture, Ferdinando Adornato, suggested last month that it might be a good idea to slice off some of the \$2 billion bet legally on soccer last year — four times the total of nine years ago — and use it to help protect Italy's vast artistic patrimony.

The Roman Catholic Church also recognizes a good bet when it sees one.

In an attempt to stimulate interest in Bible studies among youngsters in his parish, a priest in the northern city of Varese recently distributed cards patterned after the soccer betting forms.

Instead of picking winners, students had to come up with the answers to questions such as, "Who was banned to death on a gridiron?" St. Lawrence, St. Bartholomew or St. Sebastian?

According to the priest, the Reverend Aldo Milani, the gimmick worked well enough to lure 250 youngsters to religion classes.

Two of them answered all 13 questions on the cards correctly, down to recognizing Lawrence as the unfortunate saint.

That was good enough to win a pair of socks or a soccer ball. But, Milani said, it hardly means the cards are tickets to heaven.

Graf Won't Need Surgery and Says She'll Play Paris

The Associated Press

HEIDELBERG, West Germany — Despite a broken right thumb that will keep her from playing tennis for about six weeks, Steffi Graf says she will be back in time to seek a second Grand Slam.

Graf learned on Monday that surgery will not be required on the thumb, which was injured when she fell last week while on skis, trying to evade photographers at the Swiss resort of St. Moritz.

After conferring with doctors at the Heidelberg University Hospital, Graf said she thinks she will be ready to play in the French Open starting May 28.

Villanova Upsets Syracuse Again

The Associated Press

Little more than a month after handing Syracuse its first defeat of the season and ending the Orangemen's six-week reign as the top-ranked team in the United States, Villanova, which has not been in the Top 25 this season, again stunned Syracuse, now ranked fourth, with a 60-56 victory Monday night.

Chris Walker made a three-point basket with 1:11 left in the game, then hit the first of two free throws for a 58-56 lead with 12 seconds remaining. Lance Miller sealed the victory with a pair of free throws to snap a six-game winning streak for Syracuse (18-9).

Although Walker scored the key points down the stretch, the big man for Villanova (15-12) was Rodney Taylor, who came off the

bench to score 17 points and grab 10 of the Wildcats' 20 offensive rebounds.

No. 6 Duke 102, St. Joseph's 67: Duke reached the 20-victory mark for the seventh consecutive season.

COLLEGE BASKETBALL as Alaa Abdelnaby scored 18 points and Christian Laettner added 17 for the Blue Devils (20-4) in Orlando, Florida.

No. 7 UNLV 69, Fresno St. 64: In Las Vegas, Larry Johnson scored 23 points and David Butler added 22 for the Runnin' Rebels (20-4), who trailed most of the first half and traded leads in the second half.

A UNLV starting guard, Greg Anthony, sustained a broken jaw. No. 14 La Salle 93, St. Joseph's 76: Lionel Simmons moved into

seventh place on the NCAA career scoring list despite a season-low 12 points, but Doug Overton scored 26, Bobby Johnson added 24 and La Salle rallied in the final 12 minutes in Philadelphia.

St. Joseph's led by 59-52 with 11:48 left and by 63-65 (6-4) to go. La Salle (20-1) then went on a 20-2 run, including six points by Johnson and four by Simmons, and took an 83-67 lead with 1:19 remaining.

Simmons' 12 points gave him 2,919 for his career and moved him past Alfred Hughes of Loyola of Chicago, who had 2,914.

No. 21 Michigan State 80, Iowa 78: In Iowa City, Kirk Munn tied his Big Ten record of eight three-point baskets and scored 30 points as Michigan State (20-5) won its fourth straight game.

BOOKS

THE INVENTIONS OF MARK TWAIN

By John Lauber. 307 pages. \$22.95. Hill & Wang, 19 Union Square West, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Reviewed by Doris Grumbach

GIVEN: Mark Twain is one of America's great writers. Equally certain: Mark Twain is an industry. Hundreds of graduate students, scholars, biographers and popular writers have devoted portions of their professional lives to researching, shallowly or in depth, some aspect, no

matter how minor, of Twain's life and work. He was a man of wide interests and enthusiasms, contradictory opinions and extraordinary physical and creative energy.

A journeyman printer, newspaper reporter, riverboat pilot, lecturer, writer, traveler, inventor, investor, essayist, novelist, short-story writer, devoted father of three daughters, devoted husband and friend to many of the notable personages of his time, he provided, in the 73 years of his life, more material for scholarship than any other writer of his time—or since.

There have been numerous volumes devoted to his letters, to his publishers, to his friend William Dean Howells, to his financial adviser, to acquaintances, and to his love letters to his wife. Every place he set foot has been the subject of books or articles: Hannibal, Missouri, of course, Calaveras County, Virginia City, Elmina, Buffalo, Nook Farm in Hartford, Bermuda, New York City, Stormfield in Connecticut and more. A cottage industry has flourished around his lectures, his disastrous career as a business man, his friendships with minor Will Bowen, humorist George Washington Cable, and Ulysses S. Grant, his goodness to Suzy and Clara, his daughters, and to Mary his maid, each of whom wrote a volume about him. His late-life friendship with teen-ager Dorothy Quick in Bermuda, a matter of a few months'

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JUMBLE. THAT SCRAMBLED WORD GAME

Unscramble these words to form four ordinary words.

VELOR

STACE

REDONP

NAHMLY

Answer: A M... and plenty M... (Answers tomorrow)

Yesterday's Jumble Suite IRATE AFRAID MINGLE

Answer: It was supposed to be just a date until he started to do this—TWIM-DATE

BEST SELLERS

This list is based on reports from more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on list are not necessarily consecutive.

The New York Times

FICTION

1. THE BAD PLACE, by Dean R. Koontz

2. A RULING PASSION, by Judith Michals

3. YINLAND, by Thomas Pynchon

4. COLD HARBOUR, by Jack Higgins

5. DEVICES AND DESIRES, by P.D. James

6. DADDY, by Danielle Steel

7. CLEAR AND PRESENT, by D. J. Amner

8. DANGER, by Tom Clancy

9. CARIBBEAN, by James A. Michener

10. HARMFUL INTENT, by Robin Cook

11. THE DARK HALF, by Stephen King

12. COUNTERATTACK, by W.E.B. Griffin

13. TALKS FROM MARGARET TAVELLE, by Jimmy Buffet

14. WHITE NINJA, by Eric V. Lustbader

15. FOUCAULT'S PENDULUM, by Umberto Eco

15. THE GREAT AND SECRET SHOW, by Clive Barker

NONFICTION

1. MEGATRENDS, by John Naisbitt and Patricia Aburdene

2. BARBARIANS AT THE GATE, by Bryan Burroughs and John Helyar

3. LIAR'S POKER, by Michael Lewis

4. IT WAS ON FIRE WHEN I LAY DOWN ON IT, by Robert Fulghum

5. THE TEMPTING OF AMERICA, by Robert H. Bork

6. ALL I REALLY NEED TO KNOW I LEARNED IN KINDERGARTEN, by Robert Fulghum

SPORTS

King, the Professor of Trickeration: Only in Boxing

By Dave Anderson

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Ever since Don King arrived in boxing, he has wisely projected style instead of substance. Mostly hair style and life-style. His haircut appears to have been designed by a blow-dry.

His schedule features tuxedos for breakfast, limousines for lunch and unsupervised negotiations for dinner. Then there's his word style. He hides behind the laughs that his vocabulary creates.

"That man," the promoter has said about many of his enemies, "is a master of trickeration."

If others are masters of trickeration, Don King is its professor. Through the years, especially since he hypnotized Mike Tyson, boxing people have always whispered about the promoter's trickeration.

In the past he worked cleverly and carefully in the shadows as Tyson's "advisor." But now he's suddenly center stage for all the boxing public to see.

After both the World Boxing Council and the World Boxing Association had given the heavyweight title on Sunday despite James (Buster) Douglas's 10th-round knockout of Tyson in Tokyo, King's influence with those politicians was put up for inspection, if not investigation.

Now that the WBC and the WBA have upheld Douglas's victory despite the referee's long count during Douglas's eighth-round knockdown, King might slip back into the shadows.

But if both organizations had bowed to King's protest and declared the Tokyo bout "no contest" or, worse, overturned it in Tyson's favor, the public would have realized that King controls boxing, not the alphabet soup chefs of the WBC and the WBA.

VANTAGE POINT

King himself now says he never protested the decision, just pointed out the controversial long count and asked for a rematch.

Ever since Cain and Abel threw boxing's first punches, the big money in the not-so-sweet science has always been quietly controlled by the promoters of the most popular champions, usually the heavyweight champion.

In other eras, Tex Rickard controlled boxing when Jack Dempsey was the heavyweight champion. Mike Jacobs did when Joe Louis reigned, Jim Norris and the International Boxing Club did when Rocky Marciano held the title.

As soon as Muhammad Ali, then known as Cassius Clay, dethroned Sonny Liston, several promoters fought over him. King eventually emerged as Ali's promoter.

When the torch was passed to Larry Holmes, King held it. Not long after Tyson emerged, King waited until the death of Tyson's co-manager, Jimmy Jacobs, before separating Tyson from Jacobs's partner, Bill Cayton, now Tyson's estranged manager.

In trumpeting his triumphs, King likes to say, "Only in America." No, only in boxing. No other sport is so easy to manipulate.

In baseball, pro football, basketball, hockey and just about every other sport, a champion is determined by a strict playoff or tournament structure.

But except for an occasional mandatory defense against the top-ranked challenger, a boxing champion's schedule is

determined by how much the bout will earn, not by a fighter's having earned a title shot.

"Boxing is capitalism at its best and its worst," Seth Abraham, the Home Box Office senior vice president who negotiates its boxing deals, said Monday. "The golden rule of boxing is, he who has the gold rules."

He who has the heavyweight champion usually has the gold. And the influence. To protect that influence, King is known to insert clauses in a title bout contract allowing him to approve the referee.

According to Eddie Futch, then Joe Frazier's manager, a referee clause was in King's contract for the "Thrilla in Manila" with Ali before Futch had King delete it.

Even so, King brought three referees, two Americans and an Englishman, to Manila. In the debate with Filipino officials, Futch argued for a Filipino referee, who turned out to be Carlos Padilla.

In the controversy over the Douglas-Tyson fight, one question is: Did King approve the referee, if not select him?

King's loud complaints over Douglas's long count quickly persuaded the Mexican referee, Octavio Meyran Sanchez, to acknowledge his mistake in not shouting the count in sync with that of the knockdown timekeeper.

Another question: Did King influence the selection of the two Japanese judges to protect Tyson against a close decision? One had Tyson ahead on points after nine rounds, the other had scored the fight even.

If King had succeeded in swaying the boxing bosses into depriving Douglas of the title, the 35-year-old heavyweight earned, he might have inspired a public outcry to abolish boxing. Not for what happens inside the ring, but for what happens outside it.



James (Buster) Douglas's title belt won admiration from his grandmother, Sarah Jones, in Ohio.

CHAMP: World Bodies and Promoter Don King Recognize Douglas as Undisputed Boxing King

(Continued from page 1)

of the executive council of the WBC in the five continents, and they unanimously demand from our group to officially announce that we declare, officially, Buster Douglas as the champion of the world of the heavyweight division.

Six hours after Douglas had sent Tyson to the canvas in one of the greatest upsets in heavyweight boxing history, it was Sulaiman who had announced late Sunday in Tokyo that recognition of Douglas's knockout victory was being "suspended" and that "no one" was champion.

Sulaiman had been acting on a

protest lodged by King over a knockdown of Douglas in Round 8 that had lasted more than the regulation 10 seconds.

Now, says Sulaiman, "I might have made a personal mistake, which I accept, of withholding the opinion of the result of the fight until I talked with the executive board members, instead of expressing mine immediately."

For his part, King said in a separate interview that he was upset at the perception that he was trying to take Douglas's title away.

"If anyone tried to take Buster Douglas's title, it would be unacceptable to Mike Tyson. These things happen," King said. "He

(Douglas) wouldn't be the champion today without me."

"They (the media) misunderstood my motivation. That has never been my intention. Tyson doesn't want the belt unless he wins it in the ring."

"I never asked anybody to change the decision," King said. "We just want a first shot at a rematch."

There may be a hitch, though. Evander Holyfield, who had a contract to fight Tyson on June 18 if Tyson was still champion, remains the No. 1 contender of the WBC, WBA and IBF. A Douglas-Holyfield fight, therefore, could be mandated.

In the meantime, billionaire Donald Trump told the New York Times: "We made the deal a little while ago" to host a Tyson-Douglas rematch at Trump's hotel and casino in Atlantic City.

However, Dan Duva, who promotes Holyfield, said: "Right now, everything is in the talking stages, and negotiations are going on, but nothing is firm. The only thing firm is that Evander Holyfield is the mandatory challenger for Buster Douglas."

James Binns, legal counsel for the WBA, said Tuesday that the decision to recognize Douglas was made after consulting with the WBA president, Gilberto Mendez, in Japan.

"The WBA has declared Buster Douglas the champion," said Binns. "It's just upon reflection that this is the right decision. There are no conditions regarding a title defense."

He had earlier said that a decision was needed to "clear up this befuddlement as quickly as is humanly possible to the betterment of boxing."

Gary Selesner, vice president of operations at Trump Plaza Hotel and Casino, told an Atlantic City newspaper that Holyfield would be on the Tyson-Douglas II undercard June 18, "with the stipulation that he'll fight the winner... at Trump Plaza."

Holyfield would be paid \$3 million to fight on the undercard of a Douglas-Tyson rematch. He would have made \$12 million to fight Tyson.

"Yeah, that's what was decided on the plane," Holyfield said a day after he and his advisers met with King on the flight back from Tokyo. "They were discussing the rematch, how I'd be on the card, and how I'd fight the winner. My oppo-



José Sulaiman of the WBC.

"The rules don't say you have to look to the timekeeper. Of course, you can look for his help," Meyran said.

Sulaiman said his organization had "presented Buster Douglas with the championship belt after the fight, and I believe that's the belt he's been wearing. The WBC never stated that we would not recognize Buster Douglas as champion of the world."

There will be a WBC hearing Feb. 21 at Mexico City, Sulaiman said Monday, but that will deal with Douglas's right to be the champion, but only with the technical matter of whether there was indeed an error in the eighth-round count.

Dr. Elias Ghanem, a WBC vice president who supervised the fight in Tokyo, was the one who presented the champion's belt to Douglas after the 10th-round knockout on Sunday.

Douglas knocked Tyson out and that's a fact," Ghanem said of the controversy. "I gave Douglas the belt after the fight and that's it as far as I'm concerned."

Ghanem also said Monday that Sulaiman and WBA president Gilberto Mendez were told between the eighth and ninth rounds that the referee had made a mistake in the count. But neither official took action.

"Nobody did anything," Ghanem said. "The fight went on. Sulaiman acknowledged that he was told, but 'what could I do? I couldn't stop the fight while we determined if a mistake was made.'"

Another committee member and the WBC's international secretary, Duane Ford, said he would resign if Douglas was not recognized by the WBC. He made that statement while Sulaiman was enroute to the United States.

Ford and Ghanem are members

Down for Whose Count?

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Blinking through eyes blurred by the force of a punch, the fallen fighter sees a referee flashing fingers in front of his face and shouting over the din of the crowd.

"Four... five..."

When that happens, the only thing that matters to the man on the canvas are those fingers.

Veteran boxing officials agree that those fingers are why James (Buster) Douglas ought to be recognized as the heavyweight champion of the world.

Douglas went down from a Mike Tyson punch near the end of the eighth round in Tokyo. The referee, Octavio Meyran, bent over him and, apparently missing the timekeeper's call, was a second or two slow in picking up the count. Douglas was up at nine on Meyran's count and at least two referees agree that ought to end all debate.

"The way it is supposed to occur," Mills Lane, a referee, said, "is once a fighter is down the ref's first concern is getting the other fighter to a neutral corner. If he goes without delay, the ref turns and picks up the timekeeper's count, generally at two or three. If he doesn't go without delay, you can penalize the failure by picking up the count at less than where the timekeeper had it."

There was no indication of any delay by Tyson or any penalty imposed by Meyran. To Lane, when Meyran began counting, that was the only thing with which Douglas needed to be concerned.

"Once the ref picks up the count, that's the official count," Lane said. "What he should have done, if Tyson went without delay, was pick up the count where the timekeeper had it. If he erred, you can't penalize Douglas. He looks at the ref. He has no way of knowing anything else. He depends on the ref for the call."

Davey Pearl, who, like Lane, regularly officiates fights in Nevada, said Douglas's reaction to the knockdown was perfectly understandable. "He did the only thing he could do, which is get as much rest as he could and shake the cobwebs," Pearl said. "The ref has to be the judge as to whether he can continue."

of the Nevada State Athletic Commission.

Ford is also president of the Association of Boxing Commissioners, an umbrella organization of state and foreign athletic commissions.

As for the long count in the eighth, Ghanem said referee Meyran simply panicked when Douglas was knocked down and missed the beginning of the count. "He didn't know what to do,"

Ghanem said. "He looked around at Tyson's corner even when he was counting."

Ghanem said that, despite the error, Douglas was declared the winner of the fight and that decision cannot be changed by any ruling organization.

"When the referee raises his hand, there's nothing you can do about it," he said. "He (Douglas) is the new champion." (AP, NYT, WP)

Baseball Talks Take Secret Turn

By Murray Chass

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Negotiators for the owners of Major League Baseball clubs, facing their own lockout deadline later this week, gave the players' negotiators something to study Monday, but neither side would acknowledge what it was or that it even existed.

Donald Fehr, the players' labor leader, and Charles O'Connor, the chief negotiator for the owners, both said they would not discuss or characterize their 45-minute meeting, the first since the owners' representatives reaffirmed last Friday that spring training camps would not open without some sort of an agreement.

Given that Fehr is often willing — sometimes eager — to offer his view of the status of negotiations and the owners' lockout threat, his reticence Monday was highly unusual.

He declined to say whether he walked away from the meeting with something he didn't have when he arrived. O'Connor would not say if he had given Fehr anything.

But a source familiar with negotiations said O'Connor had produced something for Fehr. The

source, however, did not know what that was other than it was something the owners' committee wanted the players to consider.

The owners want the players to accept a revenue-sharing plan, which would create a new system of salaries. The players object to the idea because the system would fix salaries for players in their first six years in the major leagues and create salary caps that could affect free agents.

The minor mystery emerging from Monday's session, held at the owners' Player Relations Committee offices here, was not unusual considering that the two sides had at first planned to meet privately.

But the presence of reporters at the offices of both sides prompted them to hold briefings.

Whatever O'Connor gave Fehr, it did not instantly alter Fehr's view of the status of the talks.

"It's not my impression that the situation has changed at all," Fehr told reporters. "We were where we were yesterday, the day before and the day before that."

Spring training camps seemed to be no closer to opening than they were before the meeting.

SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

College Standings

American South Conference

Atlantic Coast Conference

Big East Conference

Big Ten Conference

Big West Conference

Big Sky Conference

Big South Conference

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OBSERVER

Moscow's Anchor Gap

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — Dan Rather and Peter Jennings went to Moscow last week, but Tom Brokaw stayed home.

Hearing the news, Mikhail Gorbachev flinched, then said to his colleagues, "It'll give it to you straight from the shoulder, gentlemen: Tom Brokaw is not coming to Moscow."

Men who had staked lives, fortunes and sacred honor on the success of perestroika-promoter Gorbachev smirked their foreheads with the heels of their hands, some crying "Sacrebleu!" and others moaning, "The jig is up."

"Maybe Brokaw is stuck in a Midtown Tunnel traffic jam and missed his flight at Kennedy Airport," Gerasimov said. "He'll probably catch the morning plane and be here in time for us to create the new system of government as planned."

"You're whistling in the dark," said Gorbachev.

Gerasimov, who was proud of his English, said, "It would be a refreshing variation on that old cliché, Mr. President, if you said 'whistling in the tunnel.'"

Gorbachev groaned, "I need network anchors, and all you give me is an English lesson."

"Don't knock it, Mr. President," said Gerasimov. "Those network anchors would probably give their last can of hair-styling mousse for a good English lesson. You can't believe the solemnities they commit every night right in the American living room."

Gorbachev said the plan for getting the great Lenin off the nation's desk was facing catastrophe, yet all Gerasimov could talk about was network anchoring.

"Chief," said Gerasimov, "you've just coined a terrific new word, 'Anchorch!' It's a neologism that Americans have needed for years. Imagine the typical American youth punning for fame: At present all he says to the barber is something like, 'Give me a sort of Reagan pompadour.' But now, thanks to the father of perestroika, that lad can tell the barber precisely what he wants by saying, 'Make mine anchorch.'"

Gorbachev didn't want to improve communication between glamour-crazed American youth and its barbers. He wanted to end the Communist Party's monopoly on power.

"Can't we do that without American network anchors?" asked Ichinov, who came from a backward region where there was nothing but tundra, not even television, much less hair-styling mousse.

Ichinov's question filled Gorbachev with sorrow. How sad that the country still had regions where Soviet citizens didn't know how to tell the difference between earthshaking history and events that didn't amount to a hill of beans.

Was there any citizen of any other country on earth who didn't know that the way to measure the importance of events was to count the number of network news anchors who left their desks to stand at the scene?

"Is it certain Brokaw won't show up?" asked Yakovlev. "Is it confirmed by our KGB agents in New York?"

"By better sources than that," said Gorbachev. "The Tass bureau in Washington heard it on 'Entertainment Tonight.'"

"O.K., it's a blow," said Gerasimov. "It means that getting the great Lenin off our backs isn't the tremendous deal we thought it would be, but still it's something."

"It's a foppery," said Gorbachev. "It's a bomb."

That was the chief for you, Gerasimov said to himself. Always stating things. Like this perestroika business of his, which was all *perest* (overstatement) and no *roika* (groceries in the supermarket).

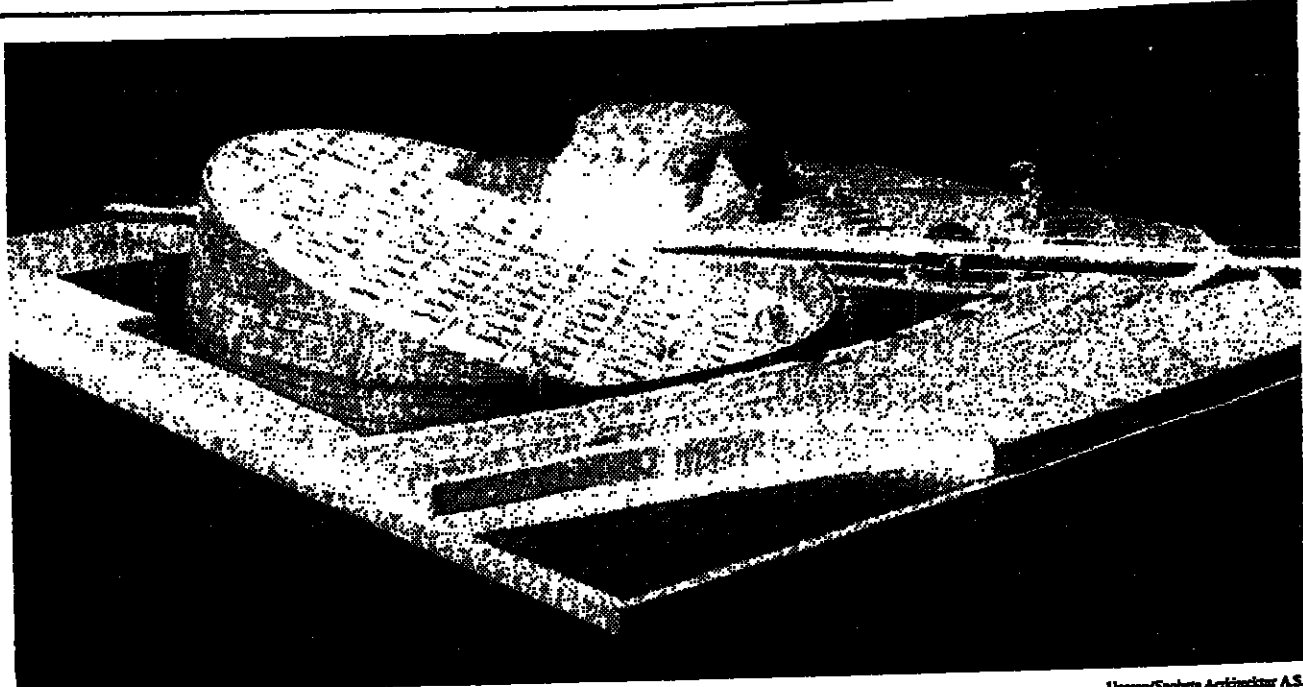
Aloud he said, "Mr. President, you forget that Dan Rather and Peter Jennings are both in Moscow. That means it's still a pretty damn deal, if you'll excuse an old buffoon of a wordsmith for getting all choked up, sir."

"Cut the Olie North imitation, Gerasimov," said the chief, who knew from experience that it was likely to be followed by Gerasimov's Lyndon Johnson imitation. That's why the Moscow party meeting ran three days instead of the scheduled two.

Still, it did no good for Gerasimov to tell Brokaw, "We've extended it just so you can get here, Tom, baby."

Gorbachev let things go ahead anyway. He didn't want Dan Rather and Peter Jennings to think he didn't appreciate their coming.

New York Times Service



Model of new Library of Alexandria; artist's impression of ancient library.

Egypt Evokes Old Learning In a Bid to Finance the New

By Alan Cowell

CAIRO — Short on cash, long on dreams of glories past, Egypt is asking the world to finance the rebirth of antiquity's greatest tower of wisdom: the Library of Alexandria, where scholars once gathered their knowledge of gods and stars and science on scrolls of papyrus.

Alexandria today is a tawdry place, a rundown port on a polluted sea, and Egypt itself has problems that occlude historical greatness. It is \$55 billion in debt, it cannot feed itself, its population is growing too fast to house or school, and more than half its 55 million people cannot read or write.

Yet Monday in the Nile-side resort of Aswan a penitency of queens and sheikhs, princesses and presidents assembled under the auspices of UNESCO to hear appeals for cash to finance a library project that will cost more than \$150 million before a single book or text is bought.

President François Mitterrand of France was there, and so too was Princess Caroline of Monaco, Queen Sofia of Spain and Queen Noor of Jordan. Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al Nahyan of the United Arab Emirates led dignitaries from Arabia and pledged \$20 million toward the project. Saudi Arabia pledged \$3 million.

As the celebrities arrived, dancing girls danced, bands played and people lined the route into town to cheer, restrained by security forces worried by two recent acts of violence in Egypt — the killing of nine Israelis on a tour bus, and an abortive assault by a teenage gunman on the palace that President Hosni Mubarak uses as a residence.

Meina Mercouri, the former Greek culture minister and actress, arrived and spoke of ancient greatness spreading beyond the Parthenon.

"It was Egypt that served as the cradle of science, knowledge and wisdom," she said of the years when Alexandria flourished as the world's center of learning under a dynasty founded by Ptolemy, a Macedonian general.

Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Great after he conquered Egypt in 332 B.C. to rout the Persians, but he died in 323 B.C. before the city was completed.

Then, in Ptolemaic times, the Alexandria Library assumed great fame, until, in 48 B.C., the Romans came and sacked the place, and much of the library's treasure was lost.

Until then, it had contained more than 650,000 papyrus scrolls on which the scholars of antiquity had inscribed all that was known about the universe and the gods, mathematics and philosophy.

Euclid, the Greek scholar who devised geometry, and others including Aristophanes and Archimedes studied and taught there as the library became a university.

Its successor, if it is built, will draw on newer inventions, including video cassettes and microfilm.

Some foreigners and diplomats say the new library's function as a reminder of past greatness to offset modernity's grim portents is as significant as whatever it may achieve academically.

Other outsiders have shown interest in the construction contracts involving the library, which is to open in 1995.

A Norwegian company recently won an international competition to decide who should design the new museum and drew up a \$500,000 feasibility study financed by the Oslo government.

The design is for a library built half underground, with its visible portion molded in the shape of the rising sun of ancient Egypt.

Saluting the very worst in motion pictures, the Golden Raspberry Foundation in Los Angeles announced the nominees for the 10th Razzie Awards, with Sylvester Stallone, John Travolta, Jane Fonda and Bo Derek heading the list of film flops.

Nominated for 1989 were "Katie Couric," "Look Up," "Road House," "Speed Zone" and "Star Trek V." The awards will be presented at the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel, where the Oscars were first held.

Elsewhere in the dubious honors department, Hideo Motoshima, the mayor of Nagasaki, Japan, who was shot Jan. 18 by a nationalist rightist, now finds the Japanese edition of "The Satanic Verses" by Salman Rushdie dedicated to him.

Without permission, Gianni Palma, an Italian businessman, arranged to have the novel published Thursday in Japan by Shinsensha, a leading publisher, and decided to dedicate the edition to Motoshima.

Nagasaki officials said Motoshima, who has resumed his duties, has asked that the novel not be dedicated to him. Palma was attacked on Tuesday at a press conference in Tokyo by a man who flung a microphone at him. Another man later threatened him with death. The Indian-born Rushdie has been in hiding for a year since the late Iranian leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini called on Muslims to execute him for blaspheming Islam in his novel.

The Italian mountaineer Reinhold Messner and the West German adventurer Arved Fuchs have become the first men to cross the Antarctic without dogs or machinery. Ulrich Jaeger, of the West German weekly magazine Der Spiegel, man weekly magazine Der Spiegel, finished their 2,500-kilometer (1,550-mile) trek after 91 days on the ice.

"It has never been done by man without any help like dogs or anything else," Jaeger told Reuters from the New Zealand city of Christchurch. Messner and Fuchs harnessed wind power, using sails to help pull their sledges, a technique developed by the Norwegian Roald Amundsen, the first man to reach the South Pole in 1911. The sails allowed them to average 56 nautical miles a day. The explorers held onto the sails and were in turn harnessed to the sledges. "They are in fairly good condition after what they did," said Jaeger. But Fuchs had suffered severe bleeding of his feet because his ski shoes had been too tight. Messner is the only man to have climbed all 14 mountains in the world over 8,000 meters (26,247 feet) without oxygen equipment, and Fuchs was the first man to reach both poles on foot in one year.



J. Ruckert © National Geographic, photo

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Ivana Wants More

Ivana Trump does not consider the "so-called prenuptial agreement to be serious," according to her lawyer, and will fight for a larger share of Donald Trump's fortune if they are divorced. The agreement, which would give Ivana \$20 million to \$25 million and the 45-room Trump mansion in Connecticut, has "no relevance to a court because it is unconscionable and fraudulent," attorney Michael Kennedy said. What she wants isn't certain, but according to the New York Post, she is aiming at the Plaza Hotel, \$150 million, and the 727 jet. But despite her husband's rumored relationship with a former Miss Georgia, Maria Magales, she still wants to save her marriage, the Post said. She was temporarily locked out of her office in the hotel Monday because "Donald has not made up his mind about Mrs. Trump's role at the Plaza Hotel," a hotel spokesman said. The billionaire real estate developer walked out on his wife last week. A spokesman for Trump said the 43-year-old tycoon would give Ivana custody of their three children.

E.L. Doctorow's "Billy Bathgate" won the fiction category in the 1989 National Book Critics Circle awards. The winner in the general nonfiction category was "The Broken Cord" by Michael Dorris, a first-person account of how fetal alcohol syndrome affected the author's son. "A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt," by Geoffrey C. Ward, was the winner in the biography-autobiography category. "Transparent Gestures," by Rodney Jones, won for poetry; and "Not by Fact Alone: Essays on the Writing and Reading of History," by James Clive, won for criticism. The awards will be presented March 8 at New York University.

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TODAY'S

BUSINESS MESSAGE CENTER

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17th LUXURIOUS 5 ROOMS, newly
decorated, 7200 sqm, near Eiffel
Tower, Tel: 4